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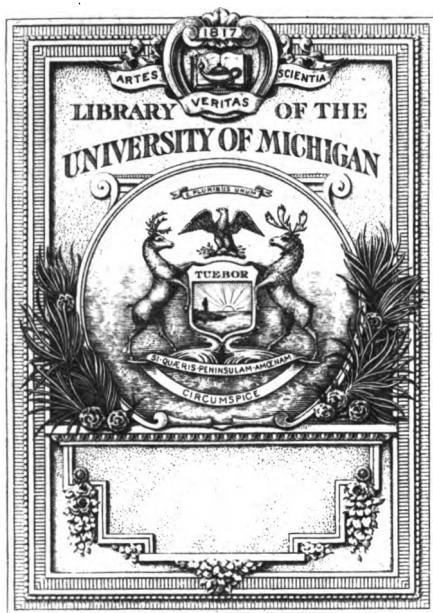
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**PARIS,
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VOL. I.**

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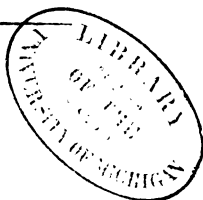
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PARIS,

AND

ITS HISTORICAL SCENES.

VOLUME I.

By
G. L. Craik

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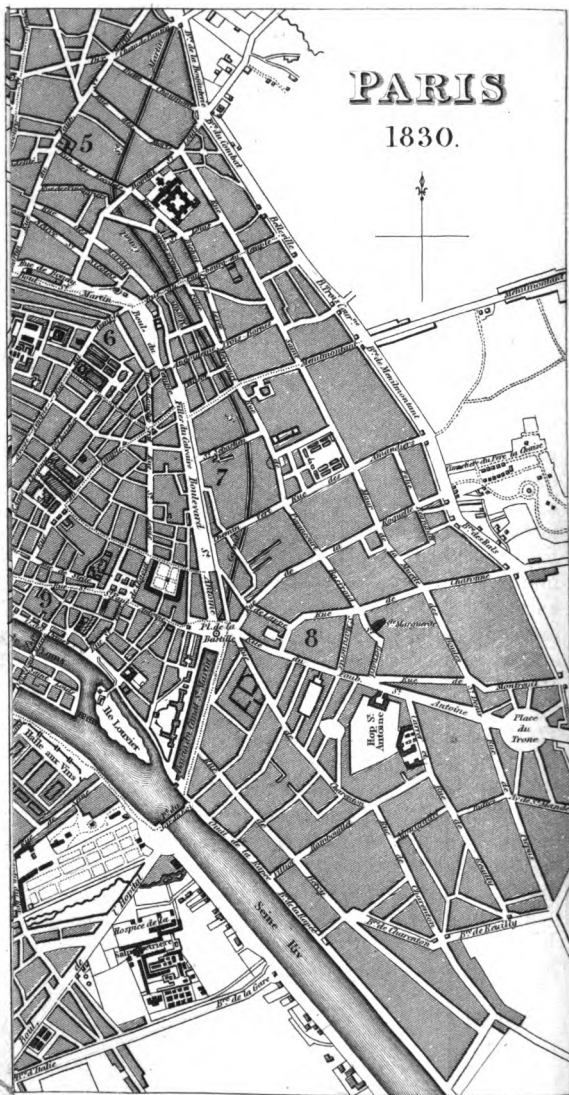
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PARIS

1830.



PARIS ;

AND ITS HISTORICAL SCENES.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this book is to describe the more remarkable edifices and situations of the French capital, in association with the great events of which that city has been the theatre. Paris has, unquestionably, many other features of commanding interest,—its arts, its luxuries, its municipal arrangements. But these are incessantly varying in their expression. Its Historical Scenes are permanent and indelible. They are to be traced, not in monuments and inscriptions, but in the multifarious narratives of chronicles and memoirs, in the obscure records of the middle ages, and in the pamphlet of yesterday. The Barricades of the League, and the Three Days of 1830, are equally within the range of this subject. Such a mode of treating history has, of course, no pretensions to be systematic. The book must be viewed as a succession of sketches, held together by the thread of local recollections. The merit, whatever it be, of these fragments, will consist in their fidelity and their individual completeness.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY AND GRADUAL INCREASE OF PARIS.

EVERY ancient and famous city has a tale of its origin which tradition or poetry has woven for it; and each of these ingenious legends is in some point distinguished from the rest by its own peculiar tissue of incidents. One thing, however, is common to the generality of such fictions; namely, that they are fond of representing the mightiest capitals as having grown out of the smallest beginnings, and of telling how the ground now covered by their proud palaces was once the site of only a few straggling huts. And this is, in most cases, the little particle of truth in the common story of the shipwrecked crew, or expatriated tribe, or other band of bold adventurers, with their high-born chief, to whom the renown is usually assigned of having thus laid the foundations of the future metropolis or empire. It is certain that some of the most illustrious cities that have adorned the earth have been, in their origin, only insignificant collections of hovels, built of mud, thatched with straw, and inhabited by barbarians. Such was Rome—such was London—such also was Paris.

The first mention we find of Paris, is in the Commentaries of Cæsar, in whose time, about half a century before the birth of Christ, it was the chief city of the Parisii, one of the numerous tribes of the great Celtic family by whom Gaul was then inhabited. The Parisii, Cæsar informs us, had united themselves to the powerful nation of the Senones, on whose confines they resided in the memory of per-

sons who were still alive when he wrote; and the probability is that they were a horde of fugitives, who, having been expelled from their original seat in some other part of Gaul, were permitted by the Senones to form a new settlement on the borders of their territory. The strip of land which was granted to them appears from various evidences to have been of inconsiderable extent. It formed the north-western extremity of the lands of the Senones, and was also the most northerly part of the possessions of the Celts, properly so called, as distinguished from the Belgians; from which circumstances in all likelihood its occupants received their name of the Parisii, the prefix Par or Bar, in Celtic names, generally denoting a Border tribe*. The French antiquaries, however, have many other accounts, besides this, to give of the term in question—one of the most romantic of which deduces it from the famous Paris, son of Priam, King of Troy, of whom it is in this manner attempted to be made out that the Parisii were the descendants. This notion of a Trojan lineage was long a cherished article of the popular faith among most of the nations of western Europe; and among none more than ourselves. Even so lately as the beginning of the fourteenth century, we find an argument derived from it gravely brought forward by Edward I. in his letter to Pope Boniface, in defence of his claims as Lord Paramount of Scotland; and we do not read of any objection being made, or doubt expressed, by the opposite party, in the course of the dispute, in regard to such a sacred historical truth †.

The town itself Cæsar calls Lutetia. In so far as the meaning of this term can be recovered, it seems to signify the dwelling in the midst of the river—

* *Histoire de Paris*, par J. M. Dulaure, edit. troisième, tom. i.

† See Warton's *History of English Poetry*, edit. of 1824, i. 132.

which is at any rate an exact description of what Paris originally and for a long time was. Cæsar tells us* that the town stood on an island in the river Seine, which he calls the Sequana, the Celtic name having been probably Squan, which in that language signifies winding,—an epithet peculiarly applicable to the Seine.

The few notices which we have in Cæsar of the Parisii, represent them as uniformly acting in conjunction with their powerful protectors, the Senones. From the small number of the troops, also, which on one occasion they are stated to have furnished to a general confederacy of the Gallic tribes, it is evident that their importance at this time was very inconsiderable. Their capital was confined to the small island in the Seine, now called the Cité, or the Ile du Palais. The houses which covered this little spot were of the most humble order, being, as Cæsar informs us, merely of mud, with straw roofs and without chimneys. They were, in fact, just such temporary habitations as we still find used by savages. When the Gauls, newly and but partially subdued, rose in general revolt against the Roman dominion in the year 53 B. C., Cæsar's able lieutenant Labienus marched against Lutetia, in the neighbourhood of which the insurgents had assembled in great force. The Parisians, on this occasion, to prevent their insular strong-hold from falling into the hands of the enemy and serving them as a road whereby to cross the river, burnt the huts on it to the ground, and cut down the bridges which connected it with the land. So formidable did Labienus consider the strength of the assembled Gauls, that he did not venture to attack them before he had had recourse to stratagem, in order to effect a division of their forces. In this attempt he was at last successful; and a

* De Bello Gallico, vii. 57.

bloody conflict ensued, in which the undisciplined valour of the barbarians availed them nothing when opposed to the scientific tactics of the Roman legions. They were routed with great slaughter; but not even after the battle began to go against them, says Cæsar, did a man of them quit his station, but all fought on till they were cut down where they stood. A division of the Gauls, that had been detached to another point, arrived to the assistance of their countrymen; but the battle was almost over before they came up, and they were obliged to take flight immediately before the pursuing victors. "Those," continues Cæsar, with his characteristic indifference in relating such miseries, "who did not find shelter among the woods and the hills, the cavalry slew*." This battle was fought about four miles to the west of the Ile du Palais; but on which bank of the river the meagreness of Cæsar's narrative leaves in considerable obscurity.

It has been affirmed by several modern writers that Cæsar, some time after this victory, repaired to Paris, and, having re-peopled the place from the neighbourhood, erected several considerable buildings on the island, and in particular two stone towers at the extremity of the two bridges which formed the approaches to the town from the north and south. But this is a mere invention of these ingenious restorers of lost history, only a very small part of the story having even the countenance of tradition. The Benedictines, Felibien and Lobineau, tell us†, that in their time one of the apartments of a building near the Pont au Change, called Le Grand Châtelet, was still popularly distinguished as Cæsar's chamber. It would be very rash, however, to conclude from this

* *Quos non sylvæ montesque texerunt, ab equitatu sunt interfecti.*

† *Histoire de Paris, 5 tomes, fol. Paris 1725: tom. i.*

that the tower was actually built by Cæsar. In the old fortified towns of our own country, some one of the most important posts will often be found to bear the name of Cæsar's tower, having been so designated in all probability merely by way of eminence, and on the same principle on which a sovereign ruler has, in several modern languages, come to be denominated a Cæsar. In both France and England, old military erections, whose origin is forgotten, have been vulgarly attributed to Cæsar, as the most renowned soldier whose exploits make part of the primitive history of the country. Thus the Tower of London is commonly said to have been built by that great conqueror. "This is the way," says the Queen of the unfortunate Richard II. in Shakspeare,

"To Julius Cæsar's ill-erected tower." *

The Bell Tower in the lower ward of Windsor Castle is also called "Cæsar's Tower;" although the sturdiest believer in historical romances cannot venture to assign its origin to the Roman conqueror. In France, in like manner, every thing possessing any extraordinary character used to be ascribed, by the credulity of former generations, either to the fairies, the devil, or Cæsar†.

The fact is, that we find no mention made of Paris till four hundred years after the time of Cæsar. The next notice of it is in the Emperor Julian's curious tract entitled 'Misopogon,' in which he speaks of having spent a winter in that town. This was in the year 358. It was also in Paris that Julian's soldiers two years afterwards proclaimed him emperor, and forced him to assume that dignity, when the messengers arrived from Constans to recal him from the government of Gaul, which he then

* See also Richard III. Act. iii. sc. 1.

† Dulaure, *Histoire de Paris*, iii. 153.

held. Julian describes Paris, which he calls his dear Lutetia (*την φιλην Λευτεκιαν*) as the *πολιχνιον*, or little capital, of the Parisii, and as situated on a small island rising from the river, which surrounded it on every side. We are perhaps hardly, however, entitled to conclude from this, that the buildings had not yet extended beyond what is now called the city. From the accounts which are given us of Julian's election to the imperial dignity by the historians Zosimus and Ammianus Marcellinus, it rather seems probable that he was himself lodged at this very time in the palace on the south bank of the river, now known by the name of the Palais des Thermes. This, at least, is the opinion of Dulaure, the latest and best historian of Paris. The Emperors Valentinian and Valens, he thinks, also resided in this edifice, when they passed the winter of the year 365 in Paris, as it appears they did. But be this as it may, the Roman domination, notwithstanding its oppressive exactions, had doubtless before this period produced some of its usual effects on the condition and manners of the people, and introduced among them the beginnings of civilization. Supposing the residence of Julian and his troops to have been within the city, the circumstance at any rate implies the existence of some public buildings of a very different description from the mud hovels which alone covered the island in Cæsar's time*. The

* The Commissary Delamare, in his elaborate work entitled 'Traité de la Police,' has taken great pains to investigate the successive augmentations of Paris. He has illustrated its state at different periods, from the time of the Gauls and Cæsar to the close of the reign of Louis XIV., when he wrote, by eight engraved plans, to which Leclerc du Brillet, in a fourth volume, published in 1738, has added two others, shewing its increase up to that year. The investigations of subsequent writers, however, have detected several errors in Delamare's statements; and his plans therefore will not be found so safe a guide in tracing the

grounds in the neighbourhood of the river, too, had now been partly cleared of their primeval forests, and transformed into vineyards, of which Julian expressly praises the produce. Some of the inhabitants, he adds, also already practised the art of rearing fig-trees, which they covered during the winter with straw, to protect them from the inclemency of the weather. The climate, however, Julian considered as remarkably mild for a place situated so far north; an advantage which he ascribes to the proximity of the ocean.

Julian had been sent into Gaul to repel the aggressions of the barbarous tribes from beyond the Rhine, who even then had begun to insult in these remote parts the overgrown empire of the Cæsars. They are said to have, more than once before this period, carried their predatory warfare as far as Paris. Julian in a short time cleared the province of these invaders; but he did not content himself with merely restoring throughout its bounds the sovereignty of the Roman arms. He reformed entirely the system of administration which had formerly prevailed; and especially communicated to all the towns which had hitherto been treated as conquered tributaries the privileges of free cities. Paris, in particular, shared in the benefits of this wise liberality; and, instead of a mere military station, became now a city governed by its own magistracy, and ennobled by the protection of the laws of the empire.

The change of the name of the city from Lutetia to Parisii or Parisea, was one of the consequences of

gradual extension of the French capital, as those recently published by Dulaure, in the Atlas accompanying his History. Of these, which are five in number, the first is a representation of Paris or Lutetia and the adjacent country, at the time of which we have been speaking, or towards the close of the Roman domination.

the new arrangements established by Julian. In the latter part of the fourth century, however, Gaul was completely wrested from the Romans by the Franks, a German people. One of their chiefs, Clovis, generally regarded as the founder of the French monarchy, is supposed to have taken up his residence in Paris about the year 508. The dynasty founded by Clovis, commonly called that of the Merovingians, from an ancestor of that monarch, governed France for a period of above two centuries and a half. Christianity had already been introduced among the Parisians by St. Denis, about the middle of the third century; and the Franks also at the time when Clovis established himself in Paris, were many of them Christians, having received baptism after the example of their king, who had shortly before submitted to that rite. During the existence of this race of princes, accordingly, numerous churches were erected, both within the city of Paris and on the ground to the north and south of the river. On the south were founded, among others, the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, afterwards the Abbey of Ste. Geneviève, the buildings of which now form the College of Henry IV. ; that of St. Vincent and Ste. Croix, now the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés; and that of St. Marcel. On the north of the river arose those of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, of St. Gervais, and several others. Within the city the Cathedral of Notre Dame was erected, probably upon the site of an ancient Pagan temple. The Île du Palais also contained other religious edifices. The buildings on this island, which still constituted all that was properly called Paris, were now likewise surrounded by a wall, if, indeed, they had not been so before the close of the Roman domination.

The Merovingian race of kings were supplanted about the middle of the eighth century by Pepin le

Bref, the father of the celebrated Charlemagne, with whom the dynasty commonly called the Carlovigian commenced. The monarchy however, which had been theretofore hereditary, just as the chieftainship of their tribe had formerly been in the family of Clovis, became now properly elective; a constitution which it naturally derived from the circumstances which had raised Pepin to the throne. Several of his immediate ancestors had possessed in succession the important office of Mayor of the Palace; but this dignity was not a hereditary one, and had only been retained for some generations in the same family by the ability of its members, aided by the weakness of the last kings of the Merovingian race, whose authority in fact they had appropriated long before they actually assumed the crown. When this chief officer of state therefore usurped his new station, he was regarded as having secured merely a personal and temporary elevation, of the same character with the office he had previously held, and by no means as having founded a new royal family. The consequence of this, for nearly two centuries and a half, was a throne so unstable, and so incessantly exposed to competition, that it could only be retained in the family which was in possession of it by continual wars. Principally on this account the Carlovigian kings rarely or never resided in Paris; which became in fact, in the course of their domination, the fief or feudal domain of one of the great barons, who took from thence the title of Count of Paris. Towards the close of the ninth century the Count of Paris, having by this time extended his possessions over a great part of the adjoining country, obtained their erection into a new fief under the name of the Duchy of France. This honour Hugh Capet held by inheritance from his ancestors, when, in the year 987, on the death of Louis V., he was elected by the other nobles to fill

the vacant throne, in entire disregard of the claims of the Duke of Lorraine, the legitimate heir of the late king. But although the object of the great vassals of the crown, in thus elevating an individual of a new family to the supreme office in the state, probably was to break down and put an end to that claim of succession to the crown by descent, as asserted by the Carlovingian race, against which they had so long been struggling, the measure to which they resorted was fated, singularly enough, to have quite the opposite effect. Hugh Capet, already the possessor of a hereditary fief, seemed to hold his crown, when he had once obtained it, by the same tenure by which he held his duchy; and, especially after one or two generations, the distinction between the hereditary and the elective dignity became almost forgotten; and the family was generally looked upon as having the same sort of right to both. Hugh himself contributed greatly, by the moderate and judicious use of his new authority, to create this general acquiescence in its transmission to his descendants; and, indeed, for a long period after his time, the sovereignty was little more than the highest rank in the aristocracy, by which the country was really governed, and the other members of which, although willing to look upon the king as the chief of their order, scarcely acknowledged him as their ruler. Antiquaries, we believe, are now generally agreed that this is the true account of the origin of that sovereign power which the French monarchs so long held themselves to possess by what they called a divine right, meaning some peculiar and indefeasible sacredness in their blood and lineage.

Under the second race of kings the extension of Paris was greatly checked by the generally disturbed state of the kingdom; and especially by the successive predatory attacks of the Normans, who,

between the years 845 and 885, ravaged or besieged the city no fewer than four times. It was also attacked in the year 978 by the Emperor Otho II., who arrived at the head of an army of 60,000 men, and was not driven back before he had set fire to one of the villages beyond the walls. A contemporary writer speaks of Paris about this time as being the smallest of all the cities in Gaul. Of the public buildings which had adorned it in the time of the Romans, some of the principal appear to have been at this time in ruins. Suburban villages however still existed on both sides of the river, although repeatedly laid waste by the enemy; and beyond these, some of the religious buildings had already begun to form each the nucleus of a little settlement, consisting first of its immediate dependents, and eventually of another class of persons, somewhat resembling the peasantry or cottagers of modern times, being small cultivators of the soil, to whom the lands attached to these churches and abbeys were leased. The ground was thus both cleared and brought into a state of tillage, and a rent was derived from it, in the shape either of service or a part of the produce. In this manner were gradually formed the villages of St. Marcel, Ste. Geneviève, St. Germain-des-Prés, St. Germain l'Auxerrois, and others, which although at first entirely separated from each other, and from what was properly called the City of Paris, became in course of time integral parts of the capital.

On the accession of the third or Capetian dynasty, Paris, now become once more the capital of France, and the principal residence of the monarch, began to extend itself more rapidly. Robert II., the son of Hugh, whose reign lasted from the year 996 to 1031, repaired the old royal palace in the Cité, which stood on the site of the present Palais de

Justice, and also built several new churches. Up to the close of the reign of his son and successor, Henry I., in the year 1060, Paris appears to have been without any regular municipal government; but the next king, Philip I., soon after coming to the throne, appointed a *Prévôt*, or Provost, in the person of an individual of the name of Etienne (Stephen), to maintain that superintendence over the city which had formerly been exercised by his own ancestors the Dukes of France. Philip's son, the able and active Louis VI., commonly called *le Gros*, did more than any of his predecessors in the extension and improvement of Paris. It was during his reign, from 1108 to 1137, that the schools of this capital, some of which however were as old as the ninth century, first acquired any celebrity. For this they were principally indebted to the famous Abelard, whose lectures are said to have been at one time attended by no fewer than three thousand scholars. Many new houses were erected to serve as lodgings for this throng of the devotees of learning; and the consequence was, the extension of the town in all directions. The principal schools which existed at Paris before this time were those attached to the two great abbeys of *Ste. Geneviève* and *St. Germain-des-Prés*, and that commonly called the *Episcopal School*, held in the cloisters of the Cathedral of *Notre Dame*; but several others were now established. Many new churches were also erected both in the *Cité* and beyond the river—among others that of *St. Jacques de la Boucherie*, to the north-east of the *Pont au Change*, in the *Rue des Arcis*, which has only been demolished since the Revolution, and the tower of which still remains. Louis VI. probably built also the two fortresses at the extremities of the bridges, called *Le Grand* and *Le Petit Châtelet*, the latter of which was in existence till the year 1782. But the great

work of this reign was the wall by which the suburbs of Paris were now for the first time enclosed. On the north side of the river, this fortification, the second by which the French capital was encircled, began to the west of the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, and proceeding along the line of the streets des Fossés St. Germain l'Auxerrois, de Béthisy, and the others in the same parallel, turned down towards the river, to the west of the Place de Grève, and ended on the bank. It was afterwards, however, carried farther east so as to enclose the church of St. Gervais. On the south side, the wall commenced from the east end of the Convent des Grands Augustins, now the Poultry Market; and, sweeping round by the south side of the Palais des Thermes, proceeded in the direction of the present Rue des Mathurins, till it reached the Rue de Bièvre, along the line of which it descended to the river; and there terminated at the spot called Les Grands Degrés, nearly opposite to the east end of the Ile du Palais. Such was the whole extent of what was properly called Paris at this time—forming, beyond the river on the north side, a strip of hardly more than two hundred yards in breadth, and not much longer than the present Ile du Palais; while to the south, although stretching somewhat farther from the river bank, its length from east to west was not equal to that of the island. Even within this very limited space, too, the greater part of the ground was still unbuilt upon. On the other hand, beyond the walls, many detached buildings were scattered over the fields now covered by the town; some, private houses and granaries; others, public edifices and religious establishments.

In the reign of Louis VII., the son of Louis le Gros, which extended from 1137 to 1180, the first college, properly so called, was founded in Paris, that designated Des Danois, or De Dace. It stood origi-

nally in the Rue Ste. Geneviève, and was afterwards transferred to the Rue Galande, immediately south from the Petit Pont. Several other schools and religious institutions also grew up about this time, and some hospitals were established ; among others, that of St. Gervais, in the court of the church of the same name. The Temple also, the house of the celebrated Knights Templars, is supposed to have been built in this reign. The ground belonging to most of the buildings outside the walls began now, for the sake of security, to be surrounded each by its separate wall, the space encompassed by which was called the Clos, or enclosed domain of the establishment.

Louis VII. was succeeded by his son Philip II., surnamed the August, whose reign extended to the year 1223. Under this monarch Paris became in a manner a new city. When he ascended the throne, most of the churches and other public edifices were still only of wood. He rebuilt many of them of stone, and added several new ones of the same material. Among the former is to be especially mentioned the present magnificent cathedral of Notre Dame. It was in this reign too, that the different parts of Paris were for the first time, at least since the days of the Romans, provided with public fountains, which were supplied by two great aqueducts, one descending from the heights of Romainville and Menilmontant, and the other from those of Belleville. An improvement of nearly equal importance, for which Paris was indebted to Philip, was the paving of the streets, which was begun by his command in the year 1185. He was standing one day, it is told, at the window of his palace in the city, when some carts having driven up to carry away the mire and filth with which the street was covered, he was so much disgusted by the stench and the offensive appearance of every thing around, that he resolved to put

an end to such a wretched state of inconvenience and uncleanness, and forthwith gave orders to the provost to have the principal streets paved at the expense of the burgesses. It is certain, however, that this order was carried into effect only in regard to a very small part of Paris: Dulaure is of opinion that no streets were actually paved, except the two which crossed each other at right angles, in the centre of the Cité, and formed what used to be called *la Croissée de Paris*. The *Petit Pont* was for the first time built of stone in the reign of Philip: this was the work of the bishop, Maurice de Sully. The king himself also built the celebrated castle of the Louvre, to the west of the town, on a piece of ground adjacent to the north side of the river, which belonged to the monastery of St. Denis, and on which sheep used to feed. This edifice, in conformity with the rude manners of the time, was intended to serve both as a palace, a fortress, and a prison. Finally, to complete his improvements, Philip determined to surround his capital by a new wall, which should embrace a much larger space than that built by his predecessor, Louis le Gros. This wall, which was begun about 1190, appears to have been completed only towards the close of Philip's reign, so that it must have taken more than thirty years in building. It took its commencement, on both sides of the river, from a little above the present *Pont des Arts*, and terminated at the east, a short distance below the two bridges of Marie and La Tournelle, which lead across from the north and south to the Isle of St. Louis. It was surmounted throughout by a parapet, and fortified by towers at regular intervals of forty fathoms, as well as by four of larger size at its extremities on the banks of the river. Its gates appear to have been twelve or thirteen in number; and the extent of the

southern portion of it is stated in contemporary documents to have been 1260 fathoms. This enclosure, it may be remarked, though so greatly extending the ancient bounds of the city, did not comprehend the Louvre, Philip having no doubt intended that recently erected strong-hold to serve as a place of refuge, for himself and his successors, from the inhabitants of their own good town of Paris, as well as from all other assailants.

The thirteenth, and the first half of the fourteenth century witnessed the erection of many additional churches and other public edifices in the French capital. During the reign of Louis IX. alone, from 1226 to 1270, twelve new monastic establishments made their appearance within the walls. Under the succeeding kings, so many buildings, public and private, continued to be erected in every part of the town, that in 1350, when the unfortunate John ascended the throne, all the ancient vacancies within the walls were filled up. It was not, however, till six years after this time that any farther extension was given to these boundaries of the city. In October 1356, about a month after the battle of Poitiers, the southern wall was repaired, and a deep ditch dug around it, under the direction of the celebrated Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants; and that on the northern side of the river was made to include a much larger quantity of ground than it had before done, being carried round from the present ditch of the Arsenal in the east, as far as about the middle of the space now forming the Place du Carrousel, at the opposite end of the city. These fortifications of Stephen Marcel's were finished in four years; but not long afterwards, in the reign of Charles V., it was found necessary to repair, or rather almost to rebuild them of greater height, and in a more substantial manner, although on the same foundation. This

great work, which was begun in 1365, was not finished till 1383, in the reign of Charles VI. The Bastile was erected as a part of these fortifications. Including the breadth of the river at its two extremities, the circumference of the wall by which Paris was now enclosed measured altogether about nine thousand seven hundred yards. Within this space, according to a contemporary writer*, were comprehended 310 streets, of which 36 were in the Cité, 80 to the south, and 194 to the north, of the Seine. These streets, however, were as yet for the most part unpaved, while few or none of them were more than six or eight feet in width. The buildings too of which they were composed, with the exception of a few here and there, were hovels of the meanest description. Dulaure calculates that the population of Paris within the walls did not at this time exceed forty thousand souls. It was in the reign of king John that the first quay was erected on the banks of the Seine. It occupied nearly the same place with that now named the Quay des Grands Augustins, between the Pont St. Michel and the Pont Neuf.

The calamitous times of Charles VI. and his successor Charles VII., which extended beyond the middle of the fifteenth century, were felt in the depression of the prosperity of Paris, as well as of every other part of the kingdom. During fifteen years of this period, indeed, the French capital was in the possession of a foreign army. From 1421 till 1436, all public ordinances were issued in the name of Henry, king of France and England. It gives us a curious idea of the state of the country in the immediate neighbourhood of Paris, to be told that, in 1437 and the following year, numbers of the citizens were

* Guillot de Paris, in his Poem called 'Le Dit des Rues de Paris.' This curious old Poem has been reprinted in the *Dictionnaire de Paris*, par Beraud et Dufey, 2 tom. Paris, 1828.

destroyed by wolves, which used to enter the town by the river. A few colleges and churches are, however, enumerated as having arisen even in this season of national confusion and misfortune. After the accession of Louis XI., in 1461, the work of improvement went on more rapidly; and in the course of his reign and those of his two immediate successors, Charles VIII. and Louis XII., which extended to the year 1515, additional public and private edifices were erected in the space within the walls. Modern civilization may be considered as dating its commencement from the accession of Louis XI. Soon after this event, in the year 1470, the first Parisian printing-press was established in the Sorbonne. About the same time a new school of medicine was instituted; and buildings were erected for it in the Rue de la Bucherie, near the Petit Pont. It is from this reign also that we are to date the origin of the French post-office; although for nearly two centuries after this time the use of it was confined to the government. To these signs of the times may be added the progress which a taste for theatrical amusements made in Paris in the course of this century. A company of actors, who called themselves the *Confrères de la Passion*, had fixed themselves towards the close of the preceding century in the *Hôpital de la Trinité*, situated at the corner formed by the meeting of the streets of St. Denis and Grenetat; where they long continued to perform what were called *Mysteries and Moralities*, being dramatic pieces founded on the events related in Scripture, or handed down in the religious legends. Afterwards many other establishments of a similar kind arose in different parts of the city. Before the close of the reign of Louis XII. many more of the streets of Paris were paved; but their condition in other respects was not much improved. They were still as narrow, and

nearly as dirty as ever. In old times it had been usual for the swine belonging to the inhabitants to make them their principal resort ; but in consequence of Philip, the eldest son of Louis le Gros, having been thrown from his horse and killed, owing to one of these animals getting under its feet, near the church of St. Gervais, all such intruders were forbidden for the future to appear in the public ways, with the exception of those belonging to the monks of the Abbey of St. Antoine, who, to the number of a dozen, were allowed still to frequent their ancient haunts, provided they carried each a bell hanging from its neck. This salutary regulation, however, in no long time fell into disuse ; and, although occasionally renewed, was never very strictly observed. This large town, indeed, the population of which now amounted probably to a hundred and fifty thousand souls, was as yet almost entirely without a Police ; and persons who subsisted upon plunder actually traversed it in troops.

The period in the history of France from 1515 to 1547 is occupied by the reign of Francis I. Under the auspices of this celebrated monarch's love for display and magnificence, and the influence of that general spirit of innovation and improvement which so strongly characterised the age, a rage for building commenced in Paris, which in no long time changed the appearance of almost every part of the city. Additions were made to the Louvre on an extensive scale by the king ; and, following his example, many of the nobility and retainers of the court pulled down their old residences, and rebuilt them in a style corresponding to the advanced civilization of the time. The increase of the population, besides, which towards the close of this reign had probably reached 200,000 souls, gave occasion to the erection of numerous houses on ground that till

now had never been built upon, both within and without the walls. The walls themselves, however, received no new extension, although they were thoroughly repaired in 1541. A ditch was also dug around the northern wall, in the completion of which 16,000 labourers were employed.

Henry II., the son and successor of Francis, completed the additions to the Louvre begun by his father. These, indeed, were on so magnificent a scale, that this royal residence might be said to be rather rebuilt from the foundation than merely repaired or enlarged. Other new buildings also continued to rise in different parts of the city; and such, indeed, is said to have been the rapidity with which architectural improvements now proceeded, that in less than fifty years from the accession of Francis, sixty new streets, completely built, had been added to Paris*. So much alarm was felt in the beginning of the reign of Henry II. on account of this continued augmentation of what was probably deemed to be already an overgrown capital, that in 1548 that monarch issued an edict prohibiting the erection of any more houses in the suburbs, on pain of confiscation of the land and buildings. Similar attempts were made to check the increase of London in the course of the same century; but the effort was not attended with much success in either capital. A very few years after the regulation of the French king was promulgated, it was found necessary to relax its provisions. In 1566, in the reign of Charles IX., the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, commenced the building of the Tuileries. Only a small part of the present palace, however, was erected by Catherine. The immense edifice of the Arsenal also was completed in this reign. To so great a degree, too, had the houses of private individuals continued to spread

* Felibien and Lobineau, *Histoire de Paris*, tom. i.

in various directions, that in 1566 a new wall was begun to be erected from the western extremity of the extensive garden of the Tuileries; which was only prevented from being completed by the troubles which convulsed France with little intermission during the next twenty-eight years.

When Henry IV. ascended the throne in 1594, many of the public buildings and houses of the nobility lay in ruins, in consequence of the hostile assaults and other calamities which the capital had recently endured. The portions of the city, in particular, which were without the walls, bore lamentable evidence of the civil contention which had so long distracted and desolated the kingdom. The accession of this monarch brought back the inestimable blessings of peace, and to Paris, especially, a new era of hitherto unknown prosperity. The Pont Neuf, begun by Henry III., was now finished; and the road thus opened was continued to the south by the formation of the Rue Dauphine, on the site of the old college of St. Denis, then in ruins, and the garden of the Convent des Augustins. Two small islands that lay to the west of the Isle du Palais were now united to it and covered with streets. The fortifications of the town, also, although not extended, were repaired in many places. At this time the gates of Paris were sixteen in number, beyond each of which was spread a suburb of greater or less extent, although several had been almost laid in ruins by the siege which the city had sustained in 1589-90. The bridges amounted to six,—the two which originally conducted to the Ile du Palais, the Ponts Notre Dame and St. Michel, standing where they now do, the Pont Marchand a short distance below the Petit Pont, and the recently erected Pont Neuf. Several quays had also been built on the north side of the river, although that below the Pont St. Michel

was the only one on the opposite bank. It was during this reign, indeed, that the conveniences for building which Paris possessed in the woods in its neighbourhood, its stone quarries, its beds of clay, and its iron mines, were for the first time taken full advantage of. The sudden death of Henry prevented the accomplishment of many other improvements which he had projected; but even at a comparatively early period of his reign, the new aspect which Paris had assumed since he ascended the throne was such as to strike every observer. "Sire," exclaimed the Spanish ambassadors, who, having been in the French capital when it was in the hands of the League, revisited it in 1598, to sign the treaty of peace between the two countries, "this city has, indeed, changed its appearance since we saw it last!" "When the master of the house is from home," replied Henry, "every thing falls into disorder; but when he returns, his presence becomes its best ornament, and all goes on well." A writer, towards the close of this reign, reckons the number of streets in Paris at 413, of which number he assigns 294 to the portion of the town on the north of the river, 83 to that on the south, and 36 to the Cité. Probably, however, no great dependance can be placed on this enumeration.

Yet, notwithstanding all these improvements, Paris, as Dulaure remarks, was still in many respects only emerging from barbarism. Of what are in modern times called *Places*, of so much importance to the health as well as the embellishment of a great city, it as yet contained only the Place Royale and the Place Dauphine. No extensive piece of ground to which the inhabitants in general might repair for recreation seems to have existed, unless we suppose that a large meadow called the Pré aux Clercs, which lay on the south side of the river opposite the present garden of the Tuileries, may

have been used for that purpose. Scarcely a tree, however, was to be seen either here or in any other part of the environs. Throughout the interior of the town, again, the streets generally were still nearly in the worst possible condition. Finally, both within and without the walls, the monuments of the violence and terrors of former times were still every where conspicuous, in the shape of embattled towers frowning over the dwellings of the citizens, private houses built in the style of military strongholds, abbeys and other religious edifices encircled by defying fortifications, and not unfrequently whole districts of more unprotected abodes thrown down and lying in ruins.

Several of the unaccomplished schemes of Henry IV. were carried into effect by his successor, Louis XIII. It was in this reign also that the palace of the Luxembourg was built by Marie de Medicis, the widow of the late king. Soon after, another splendid architectural ornament was added to the city, in the Palais Royal, erected by the Cardinal de Richelieu. On the opposite side of the river, too, the Jardin des Plantes was laid out towards the eastern extremity of the town, and the Pré aux Clercs was covered with houses in the west. But what chiefly contributed to the augmentation of Paris under this weak monarch, was the extraordinary number of religious establishments which were founded in the course of his reign. These amounted to no fewer than sixty-nine; of which twenty were for monks, and forty-nine for female devotees. In consequence of the extension given to the capital by these and other recent buildings, it was resolved in 1634 to enlarge the compass of the walls towards the west and north-west; and accordingly a new line of fortifications was erected from the Porte St. Denis, which followed very nearly the line of the present Boulevards, as far as the western ex-

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tremity of the Boulevard de la Madeleine ; and then descended towards the river, which it joined immediately to the west of the garden of the Tuileries. On the completion of this last-mentioned enclosure, it was determined once more to renew the attempt, which had been several times repeated since the edict of Henry II. in 1548, to prevent the further increase of the capital ; and accordingly, in 1639, a new edict was published, prohibiting the building of houses beyond certain specified bounds, without letters patent from the king. This regulation, however, like all the preceding ones having the same object, was very soon disregarded.

V. [I. m- of c- is ne s e h
During the long reign of Louis XIV., Paris was embellished by the erection of a vast number of new edifices, both public and private, and was extended in all directions. The monastic establishments, which already occupied so much space, became more numerous almost every year. The magnificent Hôtel des Invalides was erected at the western extremity of the Faubourg St. Germain. Great additions were made to the royal palaces of the Louvre and the Tuileries. The garden attached to the latter received improvements which entirely changed its appearance. The Places du Carrousel, Vendôme, and des Victoires, contributed to augment the elegance and splendour of this part of the city. The Champs Elysées, formerly consisting of ploughed fields, were planted, laid out with walks, and transformed into a superb public garden. Great improvements were made on the river by the formation of new quays, and the substitution of stone bridges for several of the old ones which were of wood. But the greatest alteration which Louis XIV. made in the appearance of Paris was by the demolition of the city walls, and the formation in their place of the present Boulevards. These works were begun in

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1670; and were, on the north side of the river, carried nearly along the line of the last erected wall. The southern Boulevards were not begun till 1704, nor completed till 1761, in the reign of Louis XV. In 1672, in the course of the formation of the northern Boulevards, another edict was issued prohibiting all further building beyond this enclosure, except on payment to the government, for every house, of a sum equal to the tenth part of its value. But this prohibition was soon entirely disregarded. Within the space enclosed by these Boulevards, new streets had arisen in all directions before the close of the reign of Louis XIV. A short distance to the north of the present church of St. Roch in the Rue St. Honoré, there formerly stood an immense mound composed of rubbish thrown out from the city, called La Butte St. Roch. It consisted indeed of several heaps or hillocks, which extended over a large space of ground and were of considerable elevation. Even to the period at which we are now arrived, this Butte or mound, although it had long been within the city, continued to serve as a station for a number of windmills. In the year 1677, however, it was at last levelled, and, with the ground in the vicinity, soon began to be built upon. From this commencement, there grew up eventually in that direction what might be called a new quarter of the city. In other parts of the capital also new streets were opened, and old ones widened and otherwise improved. La Caille, in his *Description of Paris**, affirms that in 1714 the number of streets was 989, and that of the houses above 21,700. The population he reckons at 700,000; but this is undoubtedly a great exaggeration. Dulaure, from a careful consideration of the best data that can now be obtained, concludes that the number of inhabitants in the

* Quoted by Felibien, *Histoire de Paris*, tom. i.

French capital at that time could scarcely have amounted to 500,000*. The number of monastic establishments in Paris, at the close of the reign of Louis XIV., had reached one hundred and seven, and these buildings, with their extensive inclosures, covered nearly half the surface of the city.

The reign of Louis XV., which extended from 1715 to 1774, witnessed also a considerable extension of Paris in various directions, and many improvements in the interior of the city. Among the public buildings erected during this period, may be particularly mentioned the *Ecole Militaire*, and the church of *Ste. Geneviève*, better known as the *Pantheon*, on the site of the old abbey of that name. Various new public markets also were established in the course of this reign. In 1722, the progress of building toward the west had connected the city in that direction with the village of *Roule*, which was now accordingly erected into a *faubourg* of Paris. The buildings that had arisen on the ground occupied by the old *Butte St. Roch*, and in its vicinity, had also by this time extended themselves beyond the adjoining *Boulevard*; and had formed, before the close of the reign, the commencement of the extensive quarter now called *La Chaussée d'Antin*, more distinguished, perhaps, for uniform architectural elegance than any other part of Paris. Various other suburbs were also fast spreading themselves around the whole extent of the northern *Boulevards*.

In the reign of Louis XVI. several more of the adjacent villages were joined to the capital, and formed new *faubourgs*. Many additional schools, markets, and places of public amusement were also erected in the interior of the city. In 1784 it was resolved again to inclose Paris by a wall; and the consequence was the erection of that by which it is at

* *Histoire de Paris*, vii. 233.

present encompassed, which, however, was not entirely finished before the year 1817. This new boundary gives an extension to Paris, especially on the north of the Seine, immensely greater than had been assigned to the city by any of the older lines of circumvallation. Its entire length is above twenty-nine thousand English yards, or about sixteen miles and a half.

Since the time of Louis XVI., while many of the ancient architectural ornaments of the French metropolis have been razed to the ground, many new and splendid edifices have been erected in their places; and almost every year has added something both to the embellishment and extension of the city. The number of convents, immediately before the Revolution, amounted to one hundred and thirty-three; and of the buildings belonging to these establishments the greater number have been either demolished or converted to other purposes. Squares and market-places have been erected on the sites of some; others have been turned into prisons, hospitals, barracks, and schools. Many new streets also have risen on the extensive grounds formerly occupied by these institutions, of which only a small number were re-established after the restoration of the Bourbons. Since that period, the principal additions which have been made to the extent of the city, have been in what is called the Quartier Poissonnière, to the east of La Chaussée d'Antin, and in the new quarter which has been formed immediately to the west of the Champs Elysées. All these erections, however, are still within the limits assigned to the city in the time of Louis XVI. The wall built in his reign, and still forming the boundary of Paris, has been since surrounded by a road planted with trees, which bears the name of the Boulevard Extérieur, the epithet of Intérieur being given to that formed by Louis XVI. The Boulevard Extérieur was not com-

pleted till the close of the reign of Napoleon. To the taste and energy of the Emperor, Paris owes many of its most magnificent embellishments. A much more complete supply of water than the city had ever before possessed—the public granaries in the garden of the Arsenal—the Abattoirs, many new markets, quays, and cemeteries—the Pont d'Austerlitz, the Pont de Jena, the Pont des Arts, and the Pont de la Cité, may be mentioned among the improvements of which he was the author. The Exchange (which, however, was only completed in 1826), the Column of Victory in the Place Vendôme, the Triumphal Arches of the Place du Carrousel, and of the Etoile (still unfinished), and the splendid new streets of Castiglione, de la Paix, and Rivoli, immediately to the north of the Tuileries, were either commenced or completed during the period of Napoleon's domination.

We have thus traced the growth of this great city from the time when it was only a village of mud hovels, occupying a diminutive islet of that river around which it is now spread so far in all directions. The Archbishop of Narbonne, writing in the reign of Francis I., calls Paris even then a world rather than a city*; yet at that period its population was probably not much more than the fifth part of what it now is; nor did the quantity of ground it covered bear even the same proportion to the immense space over which it has now extended. But, in both convenience and elegance, Paris has made still more extraordinary advances since the time of Francis than even in population and extent. It was then, compared to what it now is, but a gloomy and incommensurable fortress, without even the security which encompassing fortifications might be supposed to yield. Lighted only by candles placed here and

* Felibien, *Histoire de Paris*, tome i.

there by the inhabitants themselves in their windows, it was so infested by thieves and assassins that hardly any person ventured out after dark, and the approach of night was the source of constant terror even to those who remained in their houses. The streets thus imperfectly lighted, were worse paved; and most of them were as dirty and narrow as those still to be seen in the more ancient part of the city. The supply of water was so inadequate that the severest miseries were sometimes suffered from the absolute want of that necessary of life, and the greatest inconveniences at all times from its scarcity. Finally, the public edifices were without splendour, and even the best of the private houses unprovided with many of what are now accounted the most indispensable accommodations. Instead of all this, we behold Paris now one of the very central seats of civilization; and, although still deficient in many of the accommodations which supply to the necessities of the many instead of the luxuries of the few, in possession of the greater portion of the most important provisions which ingenuity has found out, whether for the comfort or the embellishment of existence. What a contrast between the French capital of 1831, and that Lutetia of the ancient Parisii, which Cæsar found nearly nineteen hundred years ago occupying the little island, around which has since extended itself so wide a circle of wealth, industry, intelligence, and the works which these create!

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL VIEW OF PARIS.

PARIS, it will be perceived from a glance at the plan, stands, like London, on both banks of a river, and is thus cut into two great divisions, one to the north, and the other to the south, of the water. The Seine, however, is not nearly so broad as the Thames; and the northern and southern halves of Paris are not, therefore, by any means so much separated from each other, either locally, politically, or socially, as are the corresponding portions of the English metropolis. They form, in all respects one city.

The Seine flows in a direction nearly opposite to that of the Thames, namely, from south-east to north-west. It preserves almost a perfectly straight course in passing through Paris, except that it bends considerably to the south immediately before leaving the town. The river, as it flows through the heart of the city, is interrupted by three small islands lying in succession, the two most westerly of which, the *Ile de la Cité* (otherwise called the *Ile du Palais*) and the *Ile St. Louis*, or *de Notre Dame*, are covered with streets and houses. The third, called the *Ile Louvier*, is used only as a *depôt* for firewood. The parts of the town on the opposite sides of the river are connected with each other, and with these islands, by nineteen bridges, thirteen of which are constructed of stone, and two of stone and iron: of the others two are chain-bridges, one is built of wood, and two of wood and iron. Several of these structures, especially the *Pont des Arts*, the *Pont Louis XVI.*, and the *Pont de Jena*, or *de l'Ecole*

Militaire, all of which are to the west of the Ile du Palais, are distinguished by their majesty or elegance, and add much beauty and picturesque effect to the vista of the river. Excepting at one place where the two branches enclosing the Ile du Palais unite, immediately to the west of that island, the breadth of the Seine at Paris is no where greater than about 550 English feet, and at some points it is not more than half that distance from the one bank to the other. The bridges, therefore, by which the Seine is traversed, are not to be compared in point of magnitude with those of the Thames at London. Even the Pont Neuf, which connects the Ile du Palais with both the northern and the southern divisions of the city, and comprehends in fact two bridges, with an intermediate street, is shorter, taken altogether, than Waterloo bridge by more than 200 feet; and the Pont Louis XVI., which next to the Pont Neuf is the longest of the Parisian stone bridges, measures only about 485 feet between the abutments, while Westminster Bridge measures 1223, and Waterloo Bridge 1242 feet. It is in the *number* of its bridges alone, therefore, that the Seine is superior to the Thames.

If we turn, however, from the bridges to the banks of the Seine, we shall discover another particular, connected both with convenience and ornament, in which it has strikingly the advantage over the Thames. Throughout its whole length within the barriers, it is bordered on both sides by handsomely built stone quays, furnished with parapets, and forming two broad, regular, and continuous streets between the water and the city. The Ile du Palais and the Ile St. Louis (with the exception of a very small portion of the former) are also entirely surrounded by similar erections. The number of these quays altogether is thirty-four; of which fourteen are on the

north bank of the river, ten on the south bank, six in the Ile du Palais, and four in the Ile St. Louis. In their whole extent they measure not much less than fifteen English miles. The quays along the Seine both improve the appearance of the river, and furnish an important public accommodation. Some of them are amongst the more favourite walks of the Parisians; and frequently present a picture of extraordinary animation and gaiety, from the concourse of persons of all classes assembled to enjoy the fresh air in this wide breathing-place, thrown open for them in the very heart of the city, and in the busiest haunts of its commercial and social intercourse. It need hardly be remarked, too, how greatly the quays contribute to prevent the river from being a hindrance to communication between the two parts of the city which it separates, affording, as they do, the means of uninterrupted progress along its banks in any direction, and access therefore to the bridges from any point by the shortest possible road. Stone stairs at different places lead down from the quays to the water; and goods are landed, according to their description, at particular spots called *ports*, of which there are six on the north, and five on the south bank of the river.

But while we may envy the Parisians their splendid quays, we must not forget that the dirty landing-places, the narrow wharfs, and the crowded vessels, which give such a different aspect to our river, proceed from the indispensable claims of our multifarious commerce. London is the *entrepot* of the world; and it may be naturally concluded, that the passage to and fro of all this merchandize, by the river which renders the metropolis of England accessible to the ships of every country, is somewhat incompatible with the conversion of its banks into promenades of pleasure. Better arrangements doubt-

less might be made; and they will be made when we have learnt, as we are fast learning, that elegance and utility may be happily blended. The commerce of the Seine opposes no such obstacles to the ornament of its banks at Paris; and thus some of the most splendid buildings stand on each side of the river, and many of the views from its quays and bridges are the most picturesque and magnificent that the imagination can paint. The Parisians, however, are anxiously desirous that Paris should become a maritime port—that is, that the Seine should be so deepened that ships of burthen should sail up to the capital. Rouen is now the port of Paris. But, if these wishes should ever be accomplished, some sacrifice must be made of luxury and public convenience. Docks and wharfs, the glories of a commercial city, are little suited to throngs intent chiefly on pleasure and display.

Casting our eyes on the town itself, spread out as it is over a large semicircular space on both sides of the river, we perceive that the whole is inclosed by a line, irregular in its course, repeatedly jutting out into angles, and broken at intervals by open spaces. This is the wall of Paris, erected in the early part of the reign of Louis XVI. Its entire extent is between twenty-six and twenty-seven thousand English yards, or rather more than fifteen miles. The openings or gates, which occur in it, called the *Barrières*, are now fifty in number*. The space enclosed within this wall measures nearly 3,440 hectares, or rather more than 8,500 square acres, or 13 square miles, English; and of this extent of ground about two-thirds lie on the north side of the river.

* See Galignani's *New Paris Guide*, 1830; p. 586. Dulaure, writing in 1825, enumerates 60 Barriers. See *Histoire de Paris*, ix. 387—395.

The general height of the ground on which Paris stands is about 240 feet above the level of the sea; the mean elevation of the river itself above the same point being 120 feet. But in so extensive a surface there are, as might be expected, numerous inequalities. An almost continuous hilly chain runs round the whole circumference of the northern part of the city; and another of less height, and more interrupted by vallies, encompasses the portion of it lying to the south of the river. Paris is contained, therefore, as it were within a capacious basin—anciently, there can be little doubt, the bed of an immense lake, of which the only remnants are now the Seine, and a small stream called the Bièvre, which falls into it, flowing in from the south. Even within the concavity thus scooped out, many particular spots are found considerably raised above, and others nearly as far sunk below the general level. But these inequalities seem to be in almost every case merely the result of artificial causes—of the displacement of the natural soil, and the incumbrance of it by ruins or accumulations of refuse. In former times, immense mounds, or *buttes*, as they were called, formed entirely of rubbish, which had been collecting for centuries, were scattered over every part of the town; but they are now all reduced nearly to the level of the surrounding soil. Many of the streets, however, especially those occupying the site of any of the ancient fortifications, still display frequent unevenness, from the extent to which the ground had been formerly cut up by these erections, or yet remains covered by their materials. The natural soil of the plain in which Paris stands consists, at the surface, of a gypseous marle. But this has in most places been buried under a considerable depth of foreign matter, partly deposited by the river. Under the surface, the earth is rich in a species of white free-stone, mixed

with the remains of marine animals; and a great part of it has in fact been quarried out in the process of building the city, much of which to the south of the river is undermined by these excavations.

The most remarkable feature in the general appearance of Paris, is the inner inclosure formed by the celebrated road called the *Boulevards*. On the north side of the river, the Boulevards follow a line nearly midway, on an average, between the river and the wall. The space which they comprehend, therefore, is but a small portion of that included within the outer boundary of the city. The length of this part of the road is about 5200 English yards, or somewhat under three miles. That on the south side of the river is of far greater extent, approaching, as it does, throughout its whole sweep, very much closer to the wall, and in some parts entirely coinciding with it. It measures about 16,000 yards, or above nine miles in length. - Each of these lines, although in reality forming an uninterrupted road from its commencement to its termination, is divided into a succession of parts, each having its particular name. The northern Boulevards are twelve in number, the southern seven. We have nothing in England like the Parisian Boulevards. They may be generally described as a road or street, of great breadth, along each side of which are planted double rows of elms. But these shady avenues do not present merely a picture of rural beauty. Rising as they do in the heart of a great city, they partake also of its artificial elegance and splendour, and are associated with all the luxuries of architectural decoration. Considered merely as a range of streets, the Boulevards are hardly rivalled by any other part of Paris. Those to the north of the river are lined on both sides, throughout their whole extent, by buildings more uniformly handsome than are those of almost any

other street in the city, and by many which may be even described as magnificent. Some of these are private residences ; others are shops, cafés, public hotels, and theatres. The crowds by whom so many parts of these Boulevards are frequented chiefly give to the scene its singular liveliness and brilliancy. The southern Boulevards, though equally beautiful, are far from being so much the habitual resort of the citizens ; but the walks, on this very account, have a charm for some moods of mind which the others want. Another road, planted in a similar manner, has more recently been carried round the outside of the present walls of the city. It is distinguished from the inner Boulevards by the name of the *Boulevards Extérieurs*.

To a person accustomed to the appearance of the streets of London, or indeed of any other English town, those of the interior of Paris will present considerable novelty of aspect. The extreme narrowness, in the first place, of those in the more ancient parts of the city, and the great height of the houses, with their windows in many cases fortified by bars of iron, would alone give them an air of gloom and precaution, almost sufficient to impress the Englishman who walks through them with the feeling that he has been transported, not only into another country, but into another age. Even where these indications of the more ancient evils of Paris are not visible, the general aspect of the town shews that it has not grown with the growth of a free people, amongst whom the inequalities of rank have been softened down by respect to the comforts of all classes. Under the ancient régime, which was in full activity half a century ago, there were only two classes in Paris, the *noblesse*, and the *bourgeoisie* ; and the latter, being driven into the gutters by the carriage-wheels of their arrogant masters, went by the general name of the *canaille*. Few

of the streets even now have any side pavement for foot passengers—that invaluable accommodation which gives such perfect security to the pedestrian even in our most crowded and tumultuous thoroughfares. The causeway itself, on which walkers and drivers are thus mingled together in confusion, is often most uneven and rugged. The stones of which it is formed, about ten inches square, present each a convex surface, usually wet and slippery, so that under the most favourable circumstances, walking in the streets of Paris is anything but an agreeable exercise. Still farther to abridge the level space, the street is made to incline from both sides towards the centre, in order to form there a sort of ditch, in which flows a black and fetid stream. From the want of a proper system of drains, this receptacle of filth is generally sufficiently replenished even in the driest weather, to keep the whole street wet and dirty. Carriages, having usually one wheel in the midst of the kennel, dash about the offensive puddle in all directions. But the principle of a clear middle way, such as our English streets possess, is neglected in all the arrangements connected with those of Paris. Even the lights, instead of being fixed on posts, as ours are, at the sides, are suspended in the middle on ropes swung across, and having their opposite ends fastened to the walls of the houses. It was these ropes which the mob, in the Revolution of 1789, were wont to make use of as halters for their victims ; whence their famous cry of *à la lanterne*, as they dragged them along to execution.

The aspect of Paris by night, except in a few of the principal streets where gas has been very partially introduced, is singularly gloomy. The darkness is occasionally relieved by the brilliancy of a café ; but in the more quiet parts of the town, particularly in the fashionable quarter of the Faubourg St. Germain, it

is almost impossible for the pedestrian to direct his steps aright. It is quite evident that the arrangements of this capital have not been made for a walking people. This evil, however, is fast disappearing. Numerous *passages* have been constructed, within the last ten years, which are paved with flat stones, and brilliantly lighted; and the active and pleasure-seeking population of Paris crowd to these attractive and convenient places, to the Boulevards, or to the Palais-Royal, and leave the narrow and dirty streets principally to the few who keep their own carriages, or to the many who hire public conveyances. These are of various kinds; and such was the growing importance of the middle classes, that *fiacres* (so called after the sign of St. Fiacre, at the house where they were first established) were in use a century and a half ago. The public conveyances of Paris at present are, *voitures de remise*, or post-chaises, (of which there are 470); *fiacres*, or hackney-coaches, (about 900 in number); *cabriolets*, omnibusses, *dames-blanches*, *ecossaises*, *bearnaises*, favorites, and various other long-coaches, recently introduced.

According to Dulaure, the streets of Paris, if all the names were counted (several of which, however, denote in some cases only so many different parts of the same street), amounted in 1825 to 1094; besides 119 *cul de sacs*, 121 *passages*, 27 *alleys*, 32 *crossways* (*carrefours*), and 74 *places*, or squares. There were also 10 *cloisters*, 22 *courts*, 7 *inclosures*, and 47 *market-places**. The town was lighted in 1830 by 4533 lamps, having 10,672 burners, exclusive of 482 lamps belonging to public establishments†.

* In 1828, according to another authority, there were in Paris above 1180 streets, 120 *cul-de-sacs*, and 158 *passages*.—See *Bérard & Dufey, Dictionnaire Historique de Paris*, vol. i. *Introd.*, p. xxviii.

† Galignani's Guide.

The system of numbering the houses adopted in the French capital is much more uniform and perfect than our own. Not only are the even numbers always arranged on one side, and the odd on the other; but the direction of the street is pointed out by the figures being painted black or red, according as it runs transversely or parallel to the course of the river. In the former case, too, the series of the numbers always commences at the end of the street nearest to the river; and in the latter always at the east end, or so as to follow the same direction with the river itself. This improvement, which was introduced in 1806, is neatly described in the following Latin verses, given by Dulaure.

“ Dividit hanc urbem duplici nota picta colore;
 Nigra fugit flumen, sequitur rubra fluminis undam,
 Partitis numeris; par dextra imparque sinistra
 Limina designat; numerus dum crescit eundo,
 Idem decrescens reditum indicat ordine verso*.”

Paris is municipally divided at present into twelve Districts or *Arrondissements*. In 1702 it had been divided by Louis XIV. into twenty quarters; and although this division had fallen into disuse, no other had been substituted for it until the year 1789, when the inhabitants were distributed into sixty districts, for the purpose of nominating, in so many primary assemblies, the electors of the deputies to the States-General. This division lasted till the 25th of July in the following year, when it was replaced by that of the Forty-eight Sections, a name so famous as the designation of the Parisian democracy during the stormiest period of the Revolution. A decree

* “ A distinguishing mark of two colours divides this city; the black runs transversely, the red parallel to the course of the river. The numbers being divided, the even mark the houses on the right, and the odd those on the left side of the street. The numbers increase as we go up the street, and, on the contrary, decreasing, mark our return.”

of the Convention, however, in 1795, abolished the Sections, and established in their room the division of the capital which still exists. Of the twelve *Arrondissements*, the first nine comprehend the part of the city to the north of the river and the island, (with the exception of a small part of the Ile du Palais, which is included in the eleventh Arrondissement); the remaining three include all the space on the opposite side of the water. We shall give the reader, however, a better idea of the topography of Paris, by noticing the direction of the principal streets, and the positions of some of the more distinguished public buildings, and other objects of interest, by which the city is ornamented.

The principal street in Paris which runs parallel to the river, or nearly so, on the north side, is the Rue St. Honoré, of which the Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine may be said to be the continuation towards the east. Indeed the line, taken in its entire length, is distinguished in its different parts by a variety of other names besides these; but, although not altogether free from bendings, nor even from breaks, it may still be regarded as the same street from its commencement at the Barrière du Roule in the west, to its termination at the Barrière de Vincennes, at the opposite extremity of the town—a distance of not less than five English miles. This line of road therefore, and those along the quays on either side of the river, afford the most direct means of communication between the east and west ends of Paris. Crossing the Rue St. Honoré, and the river also, nearly at right angles, run two other great streets, likewise all the way from the one side of the town to the other. The most westerly of these two parallel roads is called the Rue St. Denis to the north of the river, and is continued under various other names in its progress through the southern part of the city.

The other also, called to the north of the river the Rue St. Martin, bears different names in its successive portions, the best known of which, on the south, is the Rue St. Jacques. The entire length of each of these lines is not much under four English miles. The Rue St. Honoré and the Rue St. Denis together, these names being taken as comprehending the whole of the two streets the principal portions of which are so called, divide Paris into four quarters, not very unequal in point of extent, but very different in the amount of their population.

The north-west quarter, or that which lies to the north of the river, and the west of the Rue St. Denis, is on many accounts one of the most interesting portions of Paris. Within the space, between the river and the Rue St. Honoré, and ranged in a line nearly parallel to the latter, we have a long succession of objects and scenes of singular magnificence and beauty. There are, in an uninterrupted series, first the Louvre, then the celebrated gallery of that palace, at its farther extremity the palace of the Tuileries, having in front the Place du Carrousel with its triumphal arch, and beyond, its own splendid garden. Beyond this garden is the Place Louis XV., next, the Champs Elysées, and then the noble road, called the Avenue de Neuilly, terminated by the superb Barrière of the same name, and the triumphal arch of l'Etoile, the most colossal ever erected in ancient or modern times. Here are also some of the finest modern streets of which Paris has to boast, especially the Rue de Rivoli, extending along the northern boundary of the garden of the Tuileries. Besides the river, with its quays and bridges, we may likewise add to the public buildings distinguishing this richly ornamented vicinity, the Garde Meuble, situated to the north of the Place Louis XV. and the Palais Elysées Bourbon, farther west. Crossing now to the north of the Rue

St. Honoré, and beginning as before from the east, we find immediately contiguous to that street, or within a few hundred yards of it, the *Marché des Innocens*, the *Covent Garden of Paris*, the vast *Halle au Blé*, or *Corn-market*, the *Palais Royal*, the church of *St. Roch*, and the *Place Vendôme*, with its celebrated triumphal column. All these objects are within the *Boulevards*, as are also, farther back from the *Rue St. Honoré*, the immense church of *St. Eustache*, the *Place des Victoires*, the *Royal Library*, the *Bank*, the *Post Office*, the *Théâtre Français*, and, nearer the *Boulevards*, the beautiful new *Bourse* or *Exchange*. There is no more frequented part of the *Boulevards* than that which passes through this quarter of Paris. Here are the *Théâtre des Variétés*, and several other minor theatres; while immediately north of what is called the *Boulevard des Italiens*, stands the splendid new *Opera House*. Many objects of great interest are spread over the space beyond the *Boulevards*. Whether we look to objects of historical interest, to the luxuries of scenery and of architecture, to churches, colleges, libraries, and other establishments connected with the maintenance and progress of civilization, to theatres and other places of amusement, or to public institutions and accommodations of every other description, all are found in abundance in this district of the French capital.

The north-east quarter of the town, although far from presenting so splendid an aspect, or so great a crowd of objects of attraction, as that which we have just noticed, has still to boast of a considerable number of celebrated places and buildings as well as of many useful institutions. Within the *Boulevards*, there are, first the *Place du Châtelet*, with its handsome fountain in the centre, where the *Rue St. Denis* descends to the *Pont au Change*; from which, proceeding along the bank of the river, we come, after

a walk of some hundred yards, to the famous Place de Grève, with the Hôtel de Ville at its northern extremity. In a large space of ground in the angle formed by the river and the Boulevards, stand the buildings of the Arsenal, now used partly as barracks, but still highly interesting, as having been the residence of the great Sully, and containing one of the most extensive and valuable libraries in the capital. Crossing over to the north side of the line formed by the Rue St. Honoré, as we proceed towards the Boulevards, the gloomy prison of La Force rises on the same hand; farther on, in the back-ground, is the Place Royale; and, lastly, on reaching the Boulevards, we find ourselves in the Place de la Bastille, where formerly stood the celebrated state prison of the same name. The other remarkable buildings in this division of the town are mostly in the vicinity either of the Rue St. Martin, or of the Rue du Temple, which runs nearly parallel to it, considerably farther to the east. The Boulevards of St. Martin and the Temple are the favourite resort of the populace of Paris; and cafés, theatres, and other places of amusement, abound in their vicinity. Beyond the Boulevards, also, this quarter of the French capital presents various buildings and other objects that claim the notice of the stranger, and are just sources of pride and pleasure to the citizens.

Crossing the river by the bridge of Austerlitz to the south-east quarter, we immediately find stretched out before us the noble Jardin des Plantes, with the extensive front of the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle rising into view at its further extremity. Proceeding from this point along the quays, we come to the magnificent Halle aux Vins, constructed by command of Bonaparte on the site of the ancient Abbey of St. Victor, and occupying a space of ground nearly half

a mile in length. From thence down the Rue St. Jacques, we reach at almost every step some celebrated building, on the one hand or the other. Amongst the more remarkable are, the church and other buildings of the Sorbonne, now the principal seat of the University, and the place in which its valuable library is deposited—the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, founded by the Abbé de l'Épée—the Royal Observatory, one of the noblest institutions of its kind in the world—the Polytechnic School,—the college of Henry IV., and the magnificent church of St. Geneviève, or the Pantheon. The extensive prison of St. Pelagie stands not far from the western extremity of the Jardin des Plantes; and considerably farther south, on the right bank of the Bièvre, is the celebrated Manufacture Royale des Gobelins, or Tapestry manufactory. Only a small part comparatively of this quarter of Paris lies beyond the Boulevards; and this space is chiefly occupied by the buildings and grounds of the immense Pauper Hospital de la Salpêtrière; so called from the site having been originally that of a saltpetre manufactory. The distinguishing feature of this quarter is the abundance both of its philanthropic institutions, and of its establishments dedicated to the purposes of science and literature. It may indeed be more peculiarly designated the learned quarter of the French metropolis.

The south-west division of the city is especially distinguished as the fashionable quarter; and it contains many public buildings of the most superb description. Immediately to the west of the Rue d'Enfer lies the extensive garden of the Luxembourg, the rival of that of the Tuileries, with the palace itself, now the place of sitting of the Chamber of Peers, fronting it on the north. In the same neighbourhood are the theatre of the Odeon, the college of St. Louis, the Ecole de Médecine, and, farther to the west, the church of St.

Sulpice, the *Marché St. Germain-des-Prés*, and the ancient church of the same name, with the adjoining prison of the *Abbaye*, both parts of the great house of the Benedictine monks which here existed before the Revolution. Ranged along the bank of the river from east to west, are the *Hôtel des Monnaies*, or Mint—the Palace of the Institute—the *Hôtel des Gardes du Corps*—the Palace of the Legion of Honor—and that of the Chamber of Deputies, with the *Palais Bourbon*, of which it forms a part—all imposing structures, and some of them among the most magnificent in Paris. Beyond the *Palais Bourbon*, the esplanade of the *Hôtel des Invalides* interposes its broad grassplots and planted avenues, terminated by that noble edifice; and farther to the west, the much more extensive plain of the *Champ de Mars*, with the river, spanned by the bridge of *Jena*, at its one extremity, and the *Ecole Militaire* at the other, opens from the quay another of the grandest vistas that can be conceived.

The *Ile du Palais*, or what is more strictly called the *City*, the most ancient part of Paris, contains several buildings of great celebrity and interest. The streets here are in general more than usually narrow, dirty, and gloomy; but at the western extremity of the isle, the spacious and constantly crowded thoroughfare of the *Pont Neuf* presents an exception to this general gloominess of aspect. The quays, also, which surround the island, are in general well built, and have an airy and cheerful look. In the interior, the chief building in the west end is the *Palace de Justice*; with that most beautiful specimen of Gothic architecture, the celebrated *Sainte Chapelle*, on the one side, and the prison of the *Concièrgerie* on the other. The *Palace of Justice*, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, was the original city residence of the French kings; and some parts of it, for it has

received at different times many repairs and additions, are probably older than anything else in Paris. In the east end stands the vast and magnificent cathedral of Nôtre Dame, the mother of the churches of France. Opposite to the one extremity of this sacred pile, is the archiepiscopal Palace, in great part a recently erected edifice, and, until the devastations committed by the mob, in February 1831, distinguished for the splendour of its internal decorations; while, adjacent to the other, is placed the extensive building called the Hôtel Dieu, the oldest of the Parisian hospitals. In the island of St. Louis, the only public structure of any importance is the church of the same name, remarkable for its lofty and rather singularly constructed tower, which stands near the centre of the island. The streets of the Ile St. Louis having been more recently formed, are much more regular and spacious than those of the *city*.

These brief and imperfect notices will be sufficient to put the reader in possession of a general idea of the topography of Paris, and of the architectural and other features of each of its divisions. We may just explain, in closing our survey, what is meant by the *Faubourgs*. A Faubourg is properly a suburb, that is, a dependency of the city, lying beyond the walls. And such originally were the Parisian Faubourgs. They were all, at one time, and when they first received the name of Faubourgs, without the wall of the city. To the north of the river, the inner Boulevards now very nearly indicate the line which then formed the boundary of Paris; and the Faubourgs, accordingly, in that part of the town, are for the most part regarded as commencing from these Boulevards. There are eight Faubourgs to the north of the river; namely, those (enumerating them from east to west) of St. Antoine, of the Temple, of St. Martin, of St. Denis, of Poissonière, of Montmartre, of Le Roule,

and of St. Honoré; all indicated by streets, bearing the same names, which traverse them from the Boulevards to the present wall. Of the part of the town to the south of the Seine, the ancient wall included a much smaller portion; and what are called the Faubourgs, in fact, comprehend the whole of the present enclosure, with the exception of a space extending in length from about the western extremity of the Ile du Palais, to the middle of the Ile St. Louis, and stretching by a circular sweep so far to the south, as just to include the college of Henry IV. and the church of St. Geneviève. There are here three Faubourgs, that of St. Germain in the west, that of St. Marcel in the east, and that of St. Jacques in the centre. Of these, the first includes nearly the whole of what we have described as the fourth, or south-west, quarter of Paris.

Such, then, is the French capital, in its external features; but to complete our view of this celebrated seat of modern civilization, it will be necessary that we should add a few of the leading particulars which constitute its social and municipal condition, or what is properly called its Statistics. Ample details upon this subject have been given by Dulaure, in the concluding volume of his history; and our statements will be principally derived from that source, corrected, where necessary, by more recent authorities.

The chief officer of the municipality of Paris is the Prefect of the Seine, who may be said to exercise the functions both of what we should call Lord-Lieutenant of the County, or Department, and of Mayor of the city. He is assisted in the former capacity by a Council of twenty-four, in the latter by one of five members. Besides the Prefect of the Department, however, who presides at the Hôtel de Ville, there is also the Prefect of Police, whose residence is in the

Ile de la Cité, and who exercises his authority in subordination, not to his brother Prefect, but to the Minister of the Interior. Each of the twelve arrondissements into which the town is divided has its particular municipality, presided over by a Mayor and a Justice of Peace, and four Commissaries of Police, one for each of its quarters.

Of the supreme Courts of Justice which sit in Paris, the chief is the Court of Cassation, to which an appeal lies from every other tribunal in the kingdom. It is held in the Palais de Justice. The Cour des Comptes, or Court of Exchequer, which is next in rank, sits in the Sainte Chapelle, within the enclosure of the same palace. Here are also the Cour Royale, the Tribunal de Première Instance, and the Tribunal of Municipal Police. Besides these courts of general jurisdiction, separate courts for each arrondissement sit at the several houses of mayoralty. There is also a Tribunal de Commerce, which meets at the Exchange. The prisons within the town of Paris, or in its immediate vicinity, are ten in number.

Each of the twelve arrondissements has its parish church, to most of which a certain number of others are attached, according to the population of the district, as chapels of ease. The total number of the chapels of ease is twenty-five. The parish priests in Paris amounted, before the late revolution, to 279; and the whole clerical establishment of the city to 577 individuals, including an archbishop, thirteen vicars-general, sixteen canons, and thirty-eight honorary canons. There were also about 680 nuns of different orders; besides between two and three thousand Sisters of Charity, who were principally employed in teaching and visiting the poor, and attending on the sick in the hospitals.

The only census of the population of Paris which

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has ever been taken, at least in recent times, was that of 1817. According to this enumeration, which is allowed to have been made with great care, the total amount of the resident inhabitants, in the beginning of the month of March of that year, was 657,172 souls, to which 57,424 soldiers, inmates of the hospitals, foreigners, and other strangers being added, gave 714,596 souls for the entire actual population of the city. Of this number of persons, the largest of the twelve arrondissements (the tenth, comprehending the Faubourg St. Germain) contained 81,133; and the smallest (namely, the ninth, comprehending the district around the Hotel de Ville and part of the two islands in the river) 42,932. In 1813, the number of births in Paris was 20,219, and that of the deaths 18,676; in 1829, the number of the former was 28,721, and that of the latter, 25,591*. Of the children born in 1829, nearly 10,000 were illegitimate; and of these, 7,850 were abandoned by their parents†.

As everything which enters Paris must be introduced by the Barriers, where duties are levied upon almost all descriptions of necessaries as well as luxuries, the quantities of the different articles of consumption used by the population, every year, are ascertained with extraordinary exactness. According to the account which has been published of the consumption of the year 1829‡, the quantity of wine

* See Dulaure, *Histoire*, ix. pp. 447—463; and “*Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes pour 1831*,” pp. 83 and 84.

† Dulaure (in 1825) reckons the public hospitals, civil and military, at twenty-seven in all. According to another authority, the number of beds in that year, in all the different establishments of this nature, exceeded 15,000; while the number of persons relieved throughout the year was above 75,000, among whom were nearly 20,000 foundlings; and the entire expense amounted to very nearly 11,500,000 francs, or about 480,000*l.* sterling.

‡ *Annuaire pour 1831*, p. 87.

which paid duty appears to have been 896,139 hectolitres, or about 20,000,000 of English gallons; and that of all other liquids, 151,664 hectolitres, or about 3,350,000 gallons. Under the head of food are enumerated 69,136 oxen, 13,796 cows, 63,411 calves, 362,600 sheep, 81,119 hogs and wild boars, besides 3,199,673 kilogrammes, or about 6,900,000lbs. English, of meat ready killed (*viande à la main*). The other principal articles are: cheese, 1,290,972 kilogrammes, or about 2,750,000lb.; sea fish to the value of about 186,000*l.* sterling; oysters to that of 34,000*l.*; fresh water fish to that of 24,000*l.*; poultry and game to that of 330,000*l.*; butter to that of 395,000*l.*; and eggs to that of 175,000*l.* The consumption of flour is estimated to amount to about 1,500 sacks per day. Potatoes are not taxed; but the quantity commonly consumed in the year is calculated by Dulaure to amount to 323,610 hectolitres, or about 3,180 tons*.

* Histoire de Paris, ix. 489.

CHAPTER III.

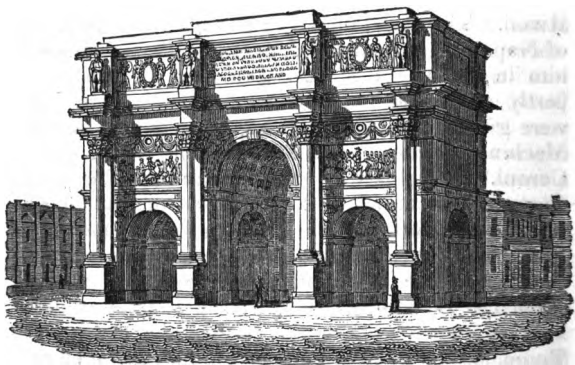
THE TUILERIES.

THE palaces of European capitals are generally the richest of all public edifices in historical associations. Those who wish to recal some of the most interesting periods of the history of Paris will probably direct their first attention to the Tuileries. This vast structure has, indeed, no traditions of ancient feudal tyranny and magnificence. It is of comparatively modern date. But it points to the bold and profligate Mary de Medicis, its founder. It leads us on to the times of Louis XIV., when one absolute man, presiding over the destinies of millions, had the arrogance to proclaim, "I am the State." After a long interval, when its splendours were eclipsed in the mightier glories of Versailles, it tells a sorrowful tale of a captive monarch here suffering every indignity as the retribution of the detestable pride of his ancestors. It conducts us onward to the furious anarchy which succeeded to the weak despotism of that unhappy king; and thence to the more splendid and vigorous tyranny of a military usurper. When the measure of justice was once more full, the place of the giddy conqueror was again supplied by the exiled race; but they had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing in adversity, and at the moment when we look upon this palace, the flag of the Republic is waving over its roof.

We are in the Place du Carrousel. The immense square in which we stand derives its name from one of those pageants which, in connexion with his archi-

ture and his wars, pampered the vanity of Louis XIV., while his people starved. The festival which the proud king here gave to his court in 1662 was called the Carrousel. It cost about fifty thousand pounds sterling; and left no traces of the admiration which it obtained, or the ill-will which it excited, if we except the name which its scene still bears, and the verses of a satirical poet which are still remembered. Before us is the east front of the palace, occupying the vast extent of a thousand and eleven feet. Its five heavy and incongruous *pavillons*, each in itself an immense house, are connected by four ranges of lower buildings in the same line. This front constitutes the Tuileries. On the south is the gallery of the Louvre; on the north a similar gallery, not yet completed, running parallel to the Rue de Rivoli. The new gallery is a monument of the taste of Napoleon, and of the dangers which surrounded him in his ascent to sovereign power. It is built partly on the site of forty or fifty old houses, that were greatly damaged by the explosion of the Infernal Machine which was aimed at the life of the First Consul. The palace is separated from the Place du Carrousel, in its whole extent, by a high railing, or grille, terminated at each side by gates, whose piers bear colossal marble statues. Opposite the central pavilion is the triumphal arch, which Napoleon erected in 1806 to the glory of the French armies. It is an imitation of the arch of Septimus Severus at Rome,—rich in detail, but petty in its general effect. The monuments of Paris are constantly changing their aspects with the changes of politics. The arch of Napoleon bears, indeed, the figures which he placed there, of cuirassiers, and grenadiers, and chasseurs, and cannoniers, whose costumes accord but ill with the classic monument which they surmount. But the bas-reliefs which represented the victories of

Ulm and Austerlitz, have given place to sculptures of the paltry triumphs of the Duc d'Angoulême in Spain; and the brazen horses of St. Mark, which have been successively yoked to the car of the conqueror at Corinth, and Rome, and Byzantium, and Venice, and Paris, have been succeeded, say the Guide books, "by four horses in bronze, by Bosio, *after the model of those removed*, and equal to them in the beauty of their forms, and the expression of their attitude." It would be difficult to imagine a more severe satire than this upon royal and national self-deception. The Government of Louis Philippe has ordered the restoration of the trophies to the honour of the French arms under Napoleon.



The ground, or at least a part of it, on which the Palace of the Tuileries now stands, was, in the fourteenth century, called *La Sablonnière*, or the *sandpits*, as appears by documents of that age. It was probably towards the end of this century, or in the beginning of the following, that the *tile-work*

was first established, from which the place derived its present name; for the first occasion on which we find it called the *Tuileries* is in an ordonnance of Charles VI., issued in 1416, in which it is commanded that all the slaughter-houses of Paris be removed out of the city, to the neighbourhood of the *Tuileries-Saint-Honoré*, on the banks of the Seine, beyond the ditches of the Louvre. In the beginning of the sixteenth century Nicolas de Neuville, Sieur de Villeroi, who was then secretary of the finances, had a house, with a court and a garden, close to this tile-work, from which it was commonly named the *Hôtel des Tuileries*. This property the king, Francis I., purchased in 1518 from De Neuville, and gave it to his mother, Louisa of Savoy, who complained of the unhealthy situation of the Palais des Tournelles (now the Place Royale) where she had hitherto resided. Louisa, therefore, was the first royal personage who lived at the *Tuileries*,—which she did from this time till the year 1525, when, on her second appointment to the regency, after the capture of her son at the disastrous battle of Pavia, she gave the house to John Tiercelin, master of the household to the Dauphin, and to Julia Dutrot, his wife, to be occupied by them during their lives.

On the death of these parties the property reverted to the crown; in whose possession it was in 1564, when Charles IX. ordered the Palais des Tournelles to be demolished, in consequence of his father, Henry II., having died there in 1559, after being wounded in a tournament by the Comte de Montgomery in the neighbouring Rue St. Antoine. Since this event the Palais des Tournelles had been considered as belonging to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, although it remained uninhabited, that princess having continued in fact to

reside in the Louvre. But now, when it was about to be destroyed, it was considered necessary that she should be provided with another house of her own ; and she resolved to build a new one for herself, on the site of the Hôtel des Tuileries. For this purpose she bought a considerable number of houses and fields in the neighbourhood, and added them to the property. The foundation of the new palace was laid in the month of May, 1564. It was intended to be an edifice much more extensive even than the present palace ; but only a small part of the original plan was executed by Catherine. The great central pavilion, and the others nearest to it on each side, with the connecting ranges of building, formed the whole of the structure as completed by her. The central pavilion, at first, consisted only of two stories ; and it was surmounted, not as now by a quadrangular roof, but by a large circular dome. The garden, which was separated from the palace by a street, was surrounded by a wall, having a bastion on the outside of the portion of it that was contiguous to the river*.

The architects whom Catherine de Medicis employed to construct her new palace, were Philibert Delorme and John Bullant, both educated in Italy, and unrivalled in their profession in that age. Delorme, however, who is understood to have had the greater share in the work, has left it on record that Catherine herself was in fact the principal architect ; and that all that he can claim the credit of, is the decoration of the edifice. This is, no doubt, a piece of politic flattery on the part of the worthy artist ; founded, in all likelihood upon nothing more than that his royal patroness, on engaging his services, described to him the general scheme of the building she wished him to erect. She

* See Dulaure, iv. 192, 257—261.

may to this extent, perhaps, be entitled to be considered the author of that more magnificent plan, embracing a series of courts, on which it was originally intended that the palace should be built. However this may be, Catherine was so well pleased with her architect that, even though he was not yet an ecclesiastic, she bestowed upon him two abbeys; and procured for him, besides, the offices of counsellor and almoner in ordinary to the king. On the completion of the Tuileries he was also made governor of that palace; all which honours are said to have made him not a little vain, as well as to have excited the jealousy of another court favourite of the day, the celebrated poet Ronsard, who vented his spite against his rival in a satirical effusion, to which he gave the title of *La Truelle Crossée—The Trowel turned Crosier*. On this, Delorme, availing himself of what he held to be the rights of his office, when Ronsard presented himself at the gate of the palace-garden in the train of his royal mistress, refused to allow him to enter. The poet, and the well-endowed, but not very erudite, churchman, continued an unequal contest of wit on one side and violence on the other; but the queen put a stop to these bickerings by reprimanding the governor of the palace for shutting the gate upon the poet; and informing him that the Tuileries was an abode dedicated to the muses.

Soon after the tragedy of the day of St. Bartholomew, Catherine deserted the Tuileries, scared away by the terrors of a name, bold as she was, and utterly regardless, while she pursued the career of her ambition, both of the restraints of morality and the threatenings of human opposition. An astrologer had told her that she would die near St. Germain; a prediction judiciously enough framed, the name of that saint being very common in old Paris, so that it

would have been difficult to reside there at all without being in the neighbourhood of some place so designated. But having thus, as she imagined, obtained notice of the intention of the fates, Catherine was resolved, if possible, to elude them. With this view, we are told, she scrupulously avoided entering any of the churches which bore the dreaded name in question. She even refrained from going any more to the royal palace at St. Germain-en-Laye, which she had been in the habit of frequently visiting. Finally, on bethinking herself that her palace of the Tuileries was in the parish of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, she actually determined to abandon that residence, notwithstanding all the cost she had expended on it. She thereupon built herself another residence on the site of the convent of the *Filles-Pénitentes* (now that of the Halle-aux-Blés), which she purchased from these nuns. In this house, called from her the *Hôtel de la Reine*, and after her decease successively the *Hôtel des Princesses* and the *Hôtel de Soissons*, she died in 1589. Did she then, after all, escape the astrologer's prediction? The ecclesiastic who attended her in her last hours was the Bishop of Nazareth, whose name was Laurence de *St. Germain*; and this, which was probably a chance the author of the prophecy had not counted upon, was deemed fulfilment enough to save his credit and that of his imaginary science. The stories of such oracles generally end in this manner, after the example of the riddles that amuse children of smaller growth. The one we have just related will remind the English reader of another of a similar character that has been told of the death of our own king Henry IV., and which Shakspeare has remembered in giving us the death-scene of that monarch. "Doth any name particular," asks Henry, "belong unto the lodging where I first did swoon?" To which the

earl of Warwick answers, "'Tis called Jerusalem, my noble lord." On this the king exclaims,

"Laud be to God!—even there my life must end :
It hath been prophesied to me many years,
I should not die but in Jerusalem ;
Which vainly I supposed the Holy Land :—
But bear me to that chamber ; there I'll lie ;
In that Jerusalem shall Harry die."

We may mention here that Catherine, when she had removed to her new residence, did not abandon her astrological speculations. The architect whom she employed to build the *Hôtel de la Reine*, was John Bullant ; but the principal part of the edifice was formed out of the monastery and another house, which already occupied the ground. One erection, however, which was the work of Bullant, was a fluted doric tower, ninety-five feet in height, having a winding staircase within it, which Catherine ordered to be built to serve her for a station from which to read the mysterious book of the stars. An Italian astrologer, named *Côme de Ruggeri*, is particularly mentioned as having been wont to accompany her to the top of this observatory, and there to assist her in thus vainly attempting to penetrate into the night of the future. This watch-tower is still standing in the outer wall of the magnificent *Halle aux Blés*, being the only part of the old *Hôtel de la Reine* which remains. A fountain now issues from its pedestal, and a sun-dial of a very ingenious construction has been placed on the shaft. It is a fit emblem of the changed spirit of the times, that what in one age was dedicated to the high but visionary aim of communing with the stars by a bold and ambitious spirit, should in ours be made to serve the humbler but more useful purpose of shewing the passing hour to those who labour in the peaceful duties of commerce.

The first additions to the Tuileries, as left by Catherine de Medicis, were made about the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the reign of Henry IV. This king erected the two immense pavilions which now form the terminations of the palace to the north and south, with the ranges of building which connect them with the rest of the edifice. These works, however, appear to have been only completed under the reign of his successor Louis XIII. ; and he was the first of the French kings who made the Tuileries his residence. It was also in the time of this monarch that the Tuileries was for the first time enclosed within the city wall. In 1664 Louis XIV. made several alterations and improvements on the building. It was by him, in particular, as already mentioned, that the central pavilion was raised to its present elevation. He also repaired and greatly ornamented the interior of the palace, having, like his predecessor, made it his usual residence till that of Versailles was finished in 1702. The gallery, which connects the Tuileries with the Louvre, was mostly built by Henry IV. ; but he left it, like many other of his great works, in an unfinished state.

The garden front of the Tuileries, heavy and incongruous as it is when analysed by architectural taste, is unquestionably magnificent. The view from it is unrivalled as a scene of artificial beauty. The eye ranges over broad terraces, crowded with a pleasure-loving population ; walks interspersed with flower-gardens and fountains, and shady groves, where some antique statue is encountered at every turn. From the central pavilion the prospect is uninterrupted for a distance of several miles, and is terminated by the grand arch of the Barrière de Neuilly. The southern terrace is bounded by the quays and the river, and the northern by the splendid

buildings of the Rue de Rivoli, from which street the garden is separated, not by a dark wall, but by a handsome open railing. We at once see that, whatever the French may have wanted in real political freedom, the out-door pleasures of the people have been abundantly consulted, even by their most arbitrary monarchs. It was this freedom of access to objects of taste and beauty, which alone made the old régime endurable. The people in some degree participated in the pride of the monarch ; and thus his splendour veiled his oppression. The respect which the French pay to the monuments of art, in which the humblest man feels a pride, presents a humiliating contrast to the barbarous mutilations which some even of those who pretend to be refined, amongst ourselves, inflict upon the works of taste of which they are occasionally permitted to have a glimpse by the possessors. The reason is evident. We have too few institutions which offer such freedom of access, as the gardens of the Tuileries, and the gallery of the Louvre. The people have had no public property to respect ; and they therefore are deficient in that branch of national education. Even the monuments of our illustrious dead are closed against them, except upon the payment of contemptible fees, and under the watch of an ignorant exhibitor. The evil is sustaining some remedy.

Till the reign of Louis XIV. the garden of the Tuileries continued to be separated from the palace by a street, as in the time of Catherine de Medicis. The ground also was still laid out in the rude and grotesque fashion of the age in which it had been first walled in ; and disfigured besides by an accumulation of miscellaneous incumbrances, which had gradually grown up during the century that had intervened. About the year 1665 Louis committed the charge of entirely remodelling the ground, to

his celebrated gardener, Lenôtre; and the result was, its metamorphosis into nearly the same general appearance which it now presents. It has since that time, however, undergone many partial restorations. It had suffered considerable injury during some of the turbulent days of the revolution; but, as early as the end of 1796, the government, justly proud of so magnificent an ornament of their capital, commenced the reparation of the damage it had sustained, on the most liberal scale; and the works then begun were continued for several years, till the place had regained much more than its ancient beauty and splendour. After the accession of Bonaparte to the supreme power, numerous additions were made to its former embellishments.

The gardens of the Tuileries and of Versailles have always been accounted the chief monuments of the genius of Lenôtre, and indeed the finest specimens in the world of their peculiar style of disposition and embellishment. Lenôtre was born to be what he was—a court artist, or, as he has been called, *le jardinier des rois*. His passion for the dignified and the grand was both the inspiration in which he wrought, and the colouring principle of his ordinary thoughts and feelings; but the grandeur which he loved and admired was that of the artificial rather than of the natural. Still he was a sincere enthusiast, and even as a courtier his heart really prompted the expression of his lips. Accordingly, in the spirit of courtly admiration and reverence, Lenôtre sometimes forgot the conventional forms which regulate the approach to princes. Having gone, on one occasion, to visit Rome, he was admitted by the Pope, Innocent XI., to the honour of a special audience. When about to take leave, delighted with the reception he had received, he exclaimed, in the pride and gratitude of his heart, “I care not now how soon I

die ; I have beheld the two greatest men on earth, your holiness, and the king, my master." "Alas," replied the Pope, "there is a great difference between us ; the king is a great prince, renowned for many victories—I am but a poor priest, the servant of the servants of God ; he is young, and I am old." On these words the honest Lenôtre, slapping his holiness heartily on the shoulder, rejoined, "My reverend father, you are in excellent health, and will see all the sacred college under ground." The Pope could not restrain himself, but laughed aloud ; on which Lenôtre, in his joy, actually threw his arms around the neck of his holiness, and pressed him to his bosom. All his veneration for Louis himself did not prevent him from sometimes accosting him, too, in the same cordial fashion. It is to the credit of the *Grand Monarque* that he bore these freedoms with great good humour ; and, to the last, treated his old gardener with the kindness and attention which his attachment and faithful services merited. It was on occasion of his waiting on his royal master, to detail to him the different parts of his plan for the formation of the park and gardens at Versailles, that Louis, struck with admiration at the taste and genius which the artist displayed in his contrivances for surmounting the many difficulties presented by the nature of the ground, three times interrupted his discourse, before he had proceeded very far, with the exclamation—"Lenôtre, I give you for that twenty thousand francs." When this munificence, however, was repeated for the fourth time, Lenôtre stopped the king, saying, "Sire, your majesty shall hear no more—I should ruin you, were I to go on."

Formerly the access to the garden of the Tuileries from the Place Louis XV. used to be by a *Pont Tournant*, or drawbridge, which was constructed in

1717, by an Augustine friar, named Nicolas Bourgeois, who was celebrated for his mechanical talents. Peter the Great, of Russia, who was in Paris at the time, used to take great delight, it is related, in watching the progress of the men employed in erecting this bridge. The ditch or moat, over which it afforded a passage, still remains ; but, since the revolution, a stone bridge has been substituted for the *Pont Tournant*. The old drawbridge is famous in the history of the revolution of 1789. The most interesting and important associations of the Tuileries with the history of France, are connected with that wonderful series of events, which effected an entire change in the destinies of nations and the general aspects of the world. Before we proceed to the minuter details of those violent and often atrocious scenes which were acted in the Tuileries, it may be convenient to give a very brief general sketch of the history of that memorable period, equally exciting for good and for evil.

CHAPTER IV.

SKETCH OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1789.

IN France, as in the other European countries which, in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries were wrested from the enfeebled grasp of the Romans by the young military virtue of the semi-barbarous tribes of Germany and the North, the government first established was that which naturally grew out of the relation of the invaders to the great body of the people. The conquerors, by the absolute law of the strong, took the sovereignty to themselves, and made the conquered their vassals. It was much the same process as when any of these stout brigands seized upon a neighbour's herd of cattle; the people in the one case were regarded nearly as the animals were in the other. Thus were laid, in all these countries, the foundations of Feudalism; which, passing over the successive modifications it underwent in the course of its consolidation, may be shortly defined as having been, both in its earliest and its completed state, a system the very principle of whose existence was the separation of the nation into the two distinct classes of masters and slaves. How long this apparently unnatural state of society could have existed, even in the most favourable circumstances, we shall not here pause to consider. In France and elsewhere it received its first shock, and eventually its downfall, from a fortunate defect, which may perhaps be described as having been rather accidentally introduced into it than as necessarily and essentially

belonging to its constitution. From old habit, and more especially from the necessity felt in their invading expeditions, of submitting themselves to a military organisation, each of these conquering hordes, and, among the rest, the Franks, had adopted the practice of choosing a commander-in-chief, or King, to lead them on to battle, and generally to preside over the conduct of their affairs. And this practice, with their other military habits, they naturally preserved, even after their settlement in a new country. But in thus setting up a king to rule over them, they established a power naturally at enmity with their own. We have, in a former chapter, glanced incidentally at the course of events by which, in France, the crown, originally elective, became after a time hereditary, and as entirely the possession of one of the families of the aristocracy as their fiefs were of the others. This may be said to have been the case from the accession of Hugh Capet, towards the close of the tenth century. It was little more than a hundred years after this time that Louis le Gros commenced a resolute system of attack upon the power and independence of those very barons who had raised his ancestor to the throne. This able and energetic monarch, in his struggle with his refractory nobles, politically called to his aid a power which had till now been nearly altogether unregarded—that of the People. Erecting the chief towns of his kingdom into privileged communities, he opposed the confederacies of the burghers to those of the aristocracy. Several of his immediate successors, and especially his grandson, Philip Augustus, who came to the throne towards the close of the twelfth century, followed up this system with the energy necessarily called into action by the nature of a contest, which, once begun, was evidently destined to terminate only with the

destruction of one of the antagonists. The people, however, we may just remark, did not, after all, gain quite so much, in the course of this protracted struggle, as might perhaps have been expected. Kept down, as they had long been, to the earth, by every variety of actual oppression, they were naturally apt to be satisfied, if they only obtained some measure of practical liberty. Thus with regard to the privileges which the crown granted, it was held that the same authority could equally, at its mere will recall them. The people, also, by no means constituted the only strength of the monarchy as opposed to the aristocracy, nor, in later periods, even its chief auxiliary. There was, besides, the Church, a continually growing power, which had been, from its first establishment, chiefly fostered by the crown; and was therefore generally to be found on its side. Add to this, the independent resources of the crown itself were every day augmenting, as it made greater progress against its opponents; and eventually, in fact, its domains and its armies alone enabled it to take a position in which it might have almost bid defiance to the nobility, the church, and the people, united. It was not, however, altogether by the exertion of this species of strength that the royal authority succeeded in reducing the aristocracy to complete submission. The last effort made by the nobles to maintain their independence, was that which gave rise to the league of the Fronde, in the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. When this formidable combination was at length put down, after several years of confusion and warfare; the court deemed it more prudent to resort to a new method of dealing with its enemies, than to persevere in a mere application of force, which was calculated to be successful only for the moment. The turbulent nobles were

gradually induced to acknowledge the king for their head, by all those glittering temptations which the crown had it now in its power to present to them. Instead of exiling their chiefs to their chateaux in the country, as his predecessors had often done, Louis gathered them around himself in Paris; and trained them to new tastes in his splendid court. Here there was every thing to work both upon their vanity and their love of pleasure—to sweeten and even to gild their dependence. Those of them who were poor had offices or pensions; the wealthy, every favorable opportunity of displaying their magnificence. Above all, the glories of the Grand Monarque, and the brilliancy of his military successes, made even the gallant and ambitious proud of calling him their master; and for a long time indeed kept the whole nation enamoured of their slavery. It was in this manner that Louis succeeded at last in establishing a complete despotism in France, and in fairly entitling himself to say, as he was in the habit of saying, “L’Etat, c’est moi”—*I am the State*.

The spirit of this system continued nearly unimpaired throughout the reign of Louis XIV. Yet, even so early as this, sagacious observers were not without their anticipations of a revolution in France. In a work of some celebrity, *Plato Redivivus*, which was first published in 1681, written by one of our old English republicans, Henry Neville, the author, in the course of his great argument that all good and stable government is necessarily founded on the recognition of the rights of property in the subject, having occasion to refer to the case of France, remarks, “We may suppose that hereafter the great power of the king of France may diminish much, when his enraged and oppressed subjects come to be commanded by a prince of less courage, wisdom, and military virtue; when it will be very hard

for any such king to govern tyrannically a country which is not entirely his own*." He afterwards examines the subject at greater length; and having characterised the existing French government as "one of those violent states which the Grecians call tyrannies," proceeds to prove that such a government, being "violent, and not natural, but contrary to the interest of the people, first, cannot be lasting, when the adventitious props which support it fail; and, whilst it does endure, must be very uneasy both to prince and people; the first being necessitated to use continual oppression, and the latter to suffer it." Of the props, by which it was in the mean time supported, he describes the first as being "the greatness of the present king, whose heroic actions and wisdom have extinguished envy in all his neighbour princes, and kindled fear, and brought him to be above all possibility of control at home; not only because his subjects fear his courage, but because they have his virtue in admiration; and, amidst all their miseries, cannot choose but have something of rejoicing, to see how high he hath mounted the empire and honour of their nation." The second he considers to be the disuse of calling together the States-General. "Now," he adds, "whenever this great king dies, *and the States of the kingdom are restored*, these two great props of arbitrary power are taken away." Lastly, he looks upon the regal despotism as having a great support in the numerous members of the nobility who derive their livelihood from serving in the king's armies, or holding office about his court and sharing in the liberality of his expenditure; but "when there comes," he concludes, "a peaceable king in France, who will let his neighbours be quiet, or one that is covetous, these fine gentlemen will

* Plato Redivivus, 2d edit. p. 36.

lose their employments, and their king this prop*." The circumstances which Neville looks forward to as likely to bring about a change of government in France, did not arrive even in the course of the long reign of Louis XV. ; but the character and events of that reign, nevertheless, contributed largely to introduce exactly such a state of things. When Louis XVI. came to the throne in 1774, himself of an unambitious and unwarlike disposition, he found the pride of their old military greatness well nigh extinguished in the heart of the nation by a series of recent reverses, and all the ordinary resources of the treasury at the same time so exhausted, that nothing but the most rigid retrenchment in every department of the public expenditure seemed to offer a chance of saving the state from bankruptcy. The necessity of economy, thus imposed upon the court, was calculated to produce much the same effect which Neville had predicted might follow from a covetous temper in the monarch. It compelled indeed the adoption of a measure much more disastrous to the separate interests of the government than could have resulted from a mere diminution of the usual costly magnificence of the royal establishments. After all other expedients had been tried in vain, it was at last deemed necessary, on the loud and reiterated demand of the nation, once more to call together the States-General. Thus was the other great event brought about, to which our author had also especially pointed, as destined, in all probability, to be fatal to the royal supremacy.

It was the disorder of the finances which forced on the crisis of the Revolution ; but other causes also had long been preparing the mind of the country for a new order of things. The age of Louis XVI. had been one of great literary, as well as military, glory

* *Plato Redivivus*, 2d edit. pp. 147—155.

to France. It was part of the system of pomp and display which that monarch maintained, to advance the glory of his throne by the flatteries of genius; and this, as has been remarked, he could not do without in fact creating a public opinion, which would not long be confined to deal in panegyric only*. In this manner was introduced into France, notwithstanding the despotism of the government, something of the air of liberty; and this the people were so long permitted to breathe by sufferance, that it at last became impossible to attempt to deprive them of it. During the latter part of the reign of Louis XV. the press had become nearly in all respects practically free, and, as the history of the famous *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique* evinces, more than equal to a contest with the laws. Though the printing of that work was frequently suspended, it was always found necessary after a short time to permit it to be resumed, notwithstanding that it advocated principles, both in religion and politics, that were calculated to unsettle men's minds in a very powerful degree. But these principles, such as they were, infected French literature generally at this period; and their diffusion was in reality almost the necessary consequence of the shameless conduct by which the court had long distinguished itself. Ever since the accession of Louis XV. the most unbounded profligacy of manners had pervaded the household, first of the Regent, and then of the King himself, and had from thence rapidly spread among the higher ranks in every part of the kingdom; till among this class of society the most sacred obligations of morality had become little better than a

* "En encourageant l'éloge," says Mignet, in his *History of the Revolution*, "il prépara le blâme, car on ne peut pas provoquer l'examen en sa faveur, sans le subir ensuite à son détriment," p. 14.

theme of fashionable ridicule. But it could not be possible that morality should not have her speedy and terrible revenge. By all below their own station her despisers soon grew to be themselves despised; and the old reverential prejudice, which supported them in their elevation above the mass of the community, suffered a shock from which it was not soon to recover. The irreligion of the times, also, was in the same degree the natural produce of the dissoluteness and utter abandonment of decency which marked the conduct of the more influential orders, both in the state and in the church. Some of the most reckless devotees of pleasure in this age were equally remarkable for their regular and scrupulous attention to all the outward ceremonies and corporeal task-work of religion, whose genuine spirit could hardly fail to be brought somewhat into contempt by so profane a mockery. But the manner in which many of the higher dignities in the ecclesiastical establishment were bestowed, tended perhaps still more to alienate men's minds from what seemed to be little better than a state contrivance for the worst of state purposes. To mention no other instances, what reverence or respect could be felt for a church in which the infamous Dubois, one of the most unblushing debauchees that ever lived, and notorious indeed as a systematic preceptor of vice, had risen to be first an archbishop, and afterwards a cardinal, and had, finally, been elected their first president, by the assembled body of the clergy?

The state of public feeling and opinion, however, produced by these causes, may be rather said to have influenced the course of the Revolution, than to have actually set it in motion. That, as we have remarked, was done by the pecuniary necessities of the government. These wants had long been growing, and had, at last, in the beginning of the year 1787, come to such

a height, that an appeal to the nation, in some form or other, was felt to be unavoidable. On the 13th of January in that year, accordingly, a proclamation appeared, convoking, for the 29th of the same month, what was called an *Assembly of Notables*; that is, of principal persons from the different towns and districts of the kingdom, selected by the king. This assembly, the first of the kind which had been called together since the year 1626, did not commence its sittings till the 22d of February. The principal object which it accomplished was the ascertainment and publication of the true state of the public finances, which were found to present an annual deficit of above 5,800,000*l.* sterling; besides a debt, incurred in the space of about ten years, of nearly 67,000,000*l.* After making these alarming discoveries, and passing a few unimportant resolutions, with the view of introducing a better order into the accounts of the state, the Assembly of Notables closed their labours on the 25th of May. Their announcement, however, of the deplorable condition of the revenue produced an extraordinary sensation in the public mind; and from that moment every body began to talk of the convocation of the States-General as the only measure suited to the exigencies of the kingdom. The Parliament in particular (which had been re-established by Louis XVI. on his coming to the throne) soon after expressly demanded from the king the adoption of this measure; and, on their remonstrance being disregarded, came to a resolution, on the 13th of August, that for the future no impost could be legally levied, the enactment of which did not bear, in the preamble, that the opinion of the States-General had been taken upon it. This bold declaration was the commencement of a protracted struggle between the court on the one side, and the parliaments, as well of the Provinces as of Paris, backed by the nation,

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on the other. After a year of collision between these parties, unused to difference, the contest, in which force and artifice were equally unavailing on the part of the government, at last terminated in the victory of the popular wish. On the 8th of August, 1788, an edict was issued for the Convocation of the States on the 1st of May following; and a few days after, the national favourite, Necker, was replaced as Minister of Finance, on the dismissal of De Brienne, the archbishop of Toulouse, who had held that place during the preceding fifteen months.

A second Assembly of Notables had sat, from the 6th of November till the 8th of the following month, to determine the number of deputies which should be sent by each of the different estates of the realm. The matter, however, was at last settled by an ordonnance of the king, deciding that the representatives of the Commons, or *Tièrs-Etat*, should equal in number those of the nobility and clergy together. On the 5th of May, 1789, the great national convocation, which France had not seen assembled for a hundred and seventy-five years, once more met at Versailles, in the magnificent hall of the palace called la Salle des Menus. This may be considered as the first day of the Revolution. From this time it advanced to its consummation, like a tide when the floodgates have been opened.

The *Tièrs-Etat* assumed at once the attitude of superior power. It had been arranged that the three orders should deliberate each in its own hall; and that each should have its single vote on whatever measure might come to be discussed. This method of proceeding would have deprived the Commons of every advantage from their superiority of numbers; and would indeed have left them without a chance of success, in any question at issue between themselves and the two privileged orders. The second

day therefore, having again assembled in their hall, the same in which the opening sitting had been held, and which had been assigned to them as forming the most numerous of the three chambers, they awaited, without entering upon business, the arrival of the deputies of the other two estates. They persisted in this course for many succeeding days: afterwards they sent a formal invitation to the other deputies to join them; but their firmness produced no apparent effect till the 13th of June, when three members of the order of the clergy at last presented themselves in their hall. This example was followed on the next day by several other deputies of the same order. Emboldened by this success, or rather wisely reckoning upon what had taken place as an evidence of their strength, and a sure presage of victory, on the 17th the Commons declared themselves a National Assembly.

Three days afterwards another event happened, which operated with powerful effect in strengthening and confirming the enthusiasm which had thus blazed out. On repairing to their hall, on the morning of the 20th, the deputies of the *Tiers-Etat* found the gates shut, and the building surrounded by soldiers; while a notice on the wall informed them that his majesty, meaning to hold a royal sitting on the 22d, had commanded their meetings to be suspended while the hall was undergoing the necessary preparations for that ceremonial. Astonished and enraged at the insolence of this proceeding, the deputies, after a few minutes of agitation, resolved to assemble in a tennis-court in the neighbourhood. On arriving here, while they crowded around their president Bailly, who had elevated himself on a table, they swore, that no intimidation should make them cease from meeting together till they had given a constitution to their country. This patriotic vow

rung throughout France, and was responded to by acclamations of applause and sympathy from her remotest borders.

The royal sitting took place on the 23d, and ended only in adding another triumph to those already achieved by the Commons. After pronouncing a declaration, proposing various important reforms, which were only objectionable in coming too late, his majesty commanded the deputies of the different orders to disperse; but those of the *Tiers-Etat* remained in their seats. On the grand master of the ceremonies repeating to them the king's command, "Go, tell your master," exclaimed Mirabeau, "that we are here by order of the people; and that we shall not be driven hence but by his bayonets." After thus throwing down the gauntlet of defiance to the royal authority, they went on with their deliberations as usual. On the 27th, the grand object for which they had been struggling from the first day they had met was fully attained, by the return to their hall of all the deputies of the other two orders, in conformity with the recommendation of the king himself.

Thus was the first act of the Revolution completed, by the virtual subjection to the new power of the representatives of the Commons of both the king and the privileged orders, almost the only parties who had hitherto been recognised in France as having any political rights at all. Soon after this a new scene of the drama opened, and other actors appeared upon the stage. Some days before the States-General had assembled, a mob had risen in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and burned the manufactory of a paper-maker, of the name of Réveillon, who was said to have threatened to reduce the wages of his workmen; and on the 30th of June the populace had broken into the prison of the Abbey St.

Germain, and delivered a number of soldiers of the Guards, who had been confined there for some acts of insubordination. But these insulated outrages could hardly be regarded as indicating any general system of insurrection on the part of the lower orders. The true commencement of the attempt of the mob to constitute themselves the sovereign power of the state, was the riot which took place at Paris on the 12th of July, when the news arrived that the king had dismissed the popular minister, Necker. This tumult continued for three days; on the last of which (the famous 14th) the insurgents, having found themselves arms by pillaging the stores in the Hôtel des Invalides, attacked and demolished the Bastille; and, by a variety of other excesses, gave terrible demonstration both of their temper and their power. From this time we have two energies at work in the destruction of the ancient government; and both, although often opposing each other, co-operating in carrying forward the Revolution.

The effect of this commotion was to terrify the king into the recall of Necker. The National Assembly then proceeded with their reforms. Their next most celebrated sitting was that during the night of the 4th of August, in which one member after another of the nobility and clergy hastened to surrender his obnoxious privileges; and the Assembly decreed by acclamation the abolition of provincial immunities, of seignorial courts, rights of chase, and all other similar institutions of feudalism. On the 11th of the same month the same power decreed the abolition of tithes.

During the months of August and September the popular agitation had continued, notwithstanding all the efforts of the legislature to preserve order, aided by the recently organized National Guards. The spirit of insubordination and outrage had spread from Paris

throughout the greater part of France. The state of the capital was rendered still more alarming by symptoms of a scarcity which had for some time appeared, and were every day becoming stronger. In this exasperated temper of the popular mind, news arrived in Paris, on the evening of the 3d of October, of certain extraordinary scenes which had been acted on that and the preceding two days at Versailles : where a fête, it appeared, had been given by the soldiers of the king's guards to their officers, at which the royal family having presented themselves, the most violent demonstrations had been offered by the whole company of their detestation of the new order of things, and their determination to devote themselves to bring about a counter-revolution. Among many similar extravagances, the white cockade, it was said, had been mounted by these daring revellers, and that of the nation trampled under foot. Inflamed to the highest pitch of fury by this intelligence, the people of Paris could scarcely be restrained from rushing *en masse*, on the instant, to the scene of these insulting festivities. During that night, however, and the whole of the 4th, the patrols of the national guard succeeded in preserving tranquillity. But, on the morning of the 5th, the outcry of *Bread ! bread ! To Versailles ! to Versailles !* broke forth again among the rabble of the Faubourg St. Antoine, with tenfold violence ; and the desperate multitude could no longer be kept from the execution of their purpose. A tumultuous throng, which is said to have swelled at last to thirty thousand persons, a great part of whom were women of the lowest description, set out for Versailles, followed by a detachment of the national guards, under the command of their general, the patriotic Lafayette, who, after having exhausted all his eloquence in vain to dissuade them from their design, deemed

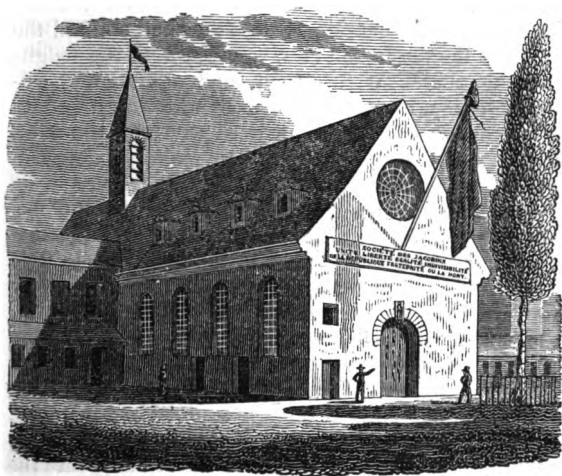
it best to accompany their movement. He had, however, succeeded in detaining them so long, that, although they had begun to congregate at six o'clock in the morning, it was nearly seven in the evening when they commenced their march. It does not belong to the character of this rapid sketch to narrate the successive scenes of riot, outrage, and bloodshed, which now took place around the hall of the Assembly and the royal residence. It was not long before active hostilities commenced between the mob and the military who guarded the palace. At last, at an early hour in the morning, the exertions of Lafayette succeeded in restoring tranquillity, and the royal family retired to sleep; but, by six o'clock, the confusion was again worse than ever, and the lives of the king and queen were sought by infuriated crowds, armed with pikes, who penetrated even to the door of the queen's bedchamber, and were only prevented from entering by learning that their intended victim had a few moments before fled to another part of the palace in her night-clothes*. By the exertions of Lafayette, however, something like a calm was once more produced; and the populace consented to return to Paris, on condition of being accompanied by their majesties. The king, the queen, the king's sister Madame Elizabeth, the Dauphin, the deputies Barnave and Petion, were then all put into the same carriage, which immediately took the road to the capital, surrounded on all sides by the immense multitude; who now, however, made the air resound with shouts of 'Vive le roi.' It was one o'clock in the

* It has been generally asserted that the assassins actually rushed up to the bed from which her majesty had just risen, and, in the rage of their disappointment, thrust their weapons with repeated strokes through the bed-clothes; but this story, from Madame Campan's account, does not appear to be true.

afternoon when the royal family left Versailles ; but, with this incumbering attendance, they did not reach the barriers of Paris till six o'clock in the evening. They were conducted first to the Hôtel de Ville, where the king was addressed by Bailly, now mayor of Paris, who informed him that the citizens hoped he would for the future make their town his usual residence. After the ceremonial of this reception he was allowed to proceed with his family to the Tuileries. On the 19th, the National Assembly followed his majesty to Paris.

This second great victory of the populace, however, like their former on the 14th of July, was prevented from being followed by the full accomplishment of its natural consequence, the subjection of all the constituted authorities of the state. The partial acquiescence and participation of the legislative body itself in the changes thus forcibly brought about in the views of those by whom they had been effected, neutralized for a time the effects of such a violent shock to the course of all order and government. A vast majority of the National Assembly had certainly rejoiced, for instance, in the destruction of the Bastille ; and many deputies also looked with complacency on that prostration of the royal authority which the energy of the mob had now achieved. The two parties therefore were as yet, to a considerable extent, fellow-workers together in the same cause ; or, at least, although divided as to the means, they were united as to the object. This common end, accordingly, they pursued for a considerable time longer, each in its own way, without much interfering with the other. On the 2d of November the Assembly declared the possessions of the church to be the property of the nation ; and on the 19th of the following month decreed their confiscation. On the 13th of February, 1790, they proclaimed the abolition of

religious orders and monastic vows. On the 22d of May they determined that the right of declaring peace or war should belong henceforth to the legislative body, the king retaining only that of initiating, or introducing, the question. On the 19th of June they decreed the suppression of hereditary nobility, coats of arms, and all distinctions of rank. Most of these innovations had been previously discussed and resolved upon in the popular clubs, which, having their central meetings in Paris, had by this time spread their ramifications over all France. Of these associations the most influential, both at this period and for a long while afterwards, was that of the Jacobins, so called from its place of meeting, the Convent of the Jacobins in the Rue St. Honoré.



Hall of the Jacobins.

The Jacobin Club had been originally established at Versailles, while the National Assembly sat there, by

a few of the members of that body; but after it was transferred to Paris along with the legislature, it very soon began to open its doors to persons of much more violent politics than those of which it had at first consisted. It became in fact the nightly rendezvous of many of the most turbulent spirits of the capital, who gradually obtained such a sway over its deliberations that it was abandoned by most of its original members. The people however, as we have said, continued to act upon the legislature through this, and similar societies, with an immense and daily increasing influence*. But they did not long confine themselves merely to this manner of demonstrating their strength. On the 18th of April, 1791, the king and the rest of the royal family had made preparations to leave the Tuileries for the Palace at St. Cloud; but before they had entered the carriage the tocsin had been sounded from the neighbouring church of St. Roch, and a mob had collected in the Place du Carrousel, who continued to vociferate with a determined accent that the king should not leave the capital. His majesty's object in going to St. Cloud, they said, was only that he might have a better opportunity of making his escape from France. It was in vain that Lafayette and Bailly used every effort to induce them to give way; and even the national guards refused to obey the orders of their commander to disperse the people. The consequence was, that the royal family were obliged to give up their design, and return to their apartments. It was upon this occasion that Lafayette, indignant at the treatment he had received, threw up his command; which he was only prevailed upon to take back some days afterwards on the earnest solicitations of the municipality, and the solemn promises of the troops themselves that they

* See *Histoire de la Revolution*, par Mignet, pp. 166, 167.

would in future yield him implicit obedience. As for the king, whatever his intentions may have been up to this time, he now certainly cherished the wish to escape, natural to a prisoner. No favourable opportunity of carrying his purpose into effect presented itself for some weeks ; but on the night of the 20th of June, he and the queen, accompanied by the Dauphin and the princess Elizabeth, secretly left the Tuileries. They succeeded in getting out of the city, and took the road towards Montmedy, with the intention of afterwards throwing themselves into the strongly fortified town of Luxembourg, on the frontiers of the Low Countries, which was then in possession of the Emperor. But they were retaken on the third day of their flight at the town of Varennes, in the province of Lorraine, when more than two-thirds of their journey had been performed, and were brought back to Paris. They arrived at the Tuileries on the evening of the 25th ; and next morning the Assembly declared the authority of the king to be suspended, and his person under arrest.

Before this time, however, serious divisions had taken place in the ranks even of the original friends of the Revolution. Mounier and Lally-Tolendal, the heads of what was considered the party of Necker in the legislative body, had quitted the Assembly immediately after the events of the 5th and 6th of October. The differences, too, between the Constitutionalists, as they were called, of whom Lafayette and Bailly were the leaders, and the more violent parties who domineered in the clubs, and were understood to have been already the instigators of several of the popular tumults that had taken place, had been long widening, and now amounted almost to avowed hostility. On the 17th of July the mob assembled in formidable numbers in the Champ de Mars to sign a petition to the Assembly for the dethronement of the

king, when, as the day advanced, their conduct became so outrageous that it was deemed necessary to proclaim martial law, and to disperse them by the fire of the national guards. The instigators of this commotion were Danton, Brissot, and Camille Desmoulins, then considered among the chiefs of the party called the Girondists. This faction consisted originally of deputies from La Gironde, whose object was to establish a republic, and who continued for some time after this to fight their battles by the instrumentality of the mob, of whom, however, when they had been supplanted by still more violent leaders, they eventually became the victims. There were many men of great talents and pure patriotism among the Girondists; but the whole history of their career sufficiently proves how ill fitted they were to direct the storm which they shewed themselves so little scrupulous in raising. At this period they formed only a minority in the National Assembly; but that body closed its sittings on the 30th of September. On the 1st of October the Legislative Assembly opened, from which, by a law that had been passed some time before, all who had been members of the former legislature were excluded. To this new convocation the people had returned their recent patrons, the zealous of republicanism, in great numbers.

The National Assembly, immediately before their separation, had drawn up a constitution in regular form, embodying the different innovations which they had introduced; and upon the king having signified his acceptance of this fundamental act, he had been restored to the exercise of his authority. From the temper of the new legislature, however, he was very soon compelled to commit the direction of affairs to a Jacobin, or Girondist, ministry. At this time, in the spring of 1792, numerous troops of emigrants, under the command of the Comte d'Artois and

other distinguished heads of the royalist party, who had left France immediately after the popular insurrection of the 12th of July, 1789, were in arms on different parts of the frontiers; the troops of the emperor and the king of Prussia were ready to act in concert with them, in conformity with the menace of the famous declaration of Pilnitz of the preceding summer; and Sweden and other foreign powers had joined the coalition. To add to the formidable nature of this threatened attack, France was suffering at home under the accumulated evils of scarcity, exhausted finances, and rapidly augmenting civil distractions. Yet, thus beset, the government assumed an attitude worthy of a great people determined to be free, and on the 20th of April declared war against Austria. After this bold step, the Girondists returned to pursue with renewed ardour their purpose of bringing about a second revolution, and of changing the monarchy into a republic. The ministry which had been formed from their body having been dismissed on the 13th of June by the king, after he had refused his consent to several bills which they had carried through the Assembly, they immediately resorted to their old instrument, the mob of the faubourgs, whom they excited to make a violent attack upon the Tuileries on the 20th; in the course of which the lives of the royal family were exposed to the most imminent danger. Another riotous assault of a still more violent description was made on the royal residence on the 10th of August, from which the king was obliged to take refuge with his family in the Legislative Assembly. The Assembly immediately passed a decree suspending him from his functions; and three days afterwards he was conducted, with the Queen, his son, and the Princess Elizabeth, to the prison of the Temple, from which he was destined

to be led forth only to trial, condemnation, and the scaffold.

From this period the career of the Revolution was for a long time one of headlong violence, each faction that obtained possession of the supreme authority being in its turn supplanted by another still more furious and blood-thirsty than itself. On the 2d of September the mob again rose, and commenced a massacre of the inmates of all the prisons in Paris, which lasted for three days. On this occasion their instigators were the members of the Commune, a self-elected body who had recently assumed the government of the city. The Girondists, or at least the more moderate of them (for Danton and some others who had formerly adhered to this party had become members of the Commune, and were the chief projectors of the massacre), were now at the head of affairs, and no longer required the aid of their ancient auxiliaries. On the 21st of this month the Legislative Assembly gave place to the Convention, in which Danton, Robespierre, Marat, and others of the worst of the popular agitators had seats; but the Girondists still continued for some time to bear up against their more violent antagonists. As the party of the constitutionalists, however, had been by this time completely overthrown, there was no difficulty in obtaining an unanimous vote for the abolition of royalty; and a decree to that effect was carried at the first sitting by acclamation. On the 19th of November the Convention proclaimed fraternity and aid to all other nations who might wish to rise against their governments. On the 17th of January, 1793, they condemned the king to death, and on the 21st he was executed. This vote was obtained in opposition to the strenuous endeavours of the Girondists, who, although they had sought eagerly to dethrone Louis, did not wish to take his life; and it proved

that their opponents, now commonly called the Mountain, from the place of the hall in which they sat, had by this time attained the superiority in point of numbers and influence in the legislature. It was some time after this first defeat, however, before the power of the Girondists was entirely overthrown. On the 1st of February the Convention declared war against England. About the end of March commenced the formidable insurrection in favour of the old government in La Vendée, a district on the western coast immediately to the south of the Loire. About this time also were established the two famous Committees of General Security and of Public Safety, the seats in which were very soon monopolized by the most violent members of the Convention. These tribunals long exercised a sanguinary dictatorship over France, before which even the Convention itself trembled. Meanwhile the contest between the Girondists and the party of the Mountain in that assembly still proceeded with increased violence and varying success. But the failure of the former, in their attempt to carry the condemnation of the atrocious Marat, finally threw the victory into the hands of their opponents ; and on the 2d of June, after a week of popular outrage of the most terrible description, during which the Convention was kept in a state of siege by the mobs of the Commune and the Committees, so that even Danton and his friends at last quaked before the storm they had themselves assisted in raising, a sweeping decree of proscription was passed against more than thirty of the principal Girondist deputies, and that party was extinguished in the legislature. This event made Robespierre the master of France,—Marat, who might otherwise perhaps have contended with him for the tyranny, being shortly after assassinated by the heroic Charlotte Corday.

The year that followed is usually called the Reign

of Terror. On the 24th of June the Convention proclaimed a new constitution, which, however, they formally declared suspended about two months afterwards. But the party which had now obtained the ascendancy was in reality that of the lowest multitude; and even Robespierre, all-powerful dictator as he was, was merely the instrument whom they had set up to destroy all but themselves. At the outcry, therefore, of these the true rulers of France, and to promote their momentary interests (for it was a measure from which even they at last suffered severely in the universal stagnation of industry and consequent scarcity which it produced), the Convention on the 29th of September passed a law imposing a maximum price upon all commodities, the last and most ruinous excess of mob legislation. On the 6th of October they decreed the introduction of a new era, to commence from the 22d of September 1792 (the first day of the republic), and also of a new calendar, according to which the year was to be reckoned as beginning on that day (which happened to be that of the autumnal equinox), and the twelve months into which it was divided received names descriptive of the natural character of each. This puerile innovation, which was not adopted anywhere but in France, and would indeed have been inapplicable any where else, was in that country persisted in till the beginning of the year 1806, when the method of reckoning time in use throughout the rest of Christendom was recurred to. Meanwhile the government revelled in executions and all sorts of atrocities. The town of Lyons, where, as in many other parts of France, an insurrection had broken out, was given up for punishment to a troop of commissioned destroyers, by whom the finest part of it was levelled to the ground, and the inhabitants butchered by hundreds. In this last respect it was the

same in Paris ; people were dragged to be guillotined by several scores at a time, and the scaffold remained constantly wet with blood. On the 16th of October the queen of Louis XVI., the unfortunate Marie-Antoinette, was beheaded. On the 31st Brissot and twenty more of the Girondist deputies underwent the same fate. The execution of the Duke of Orleans, the celebrated *Egalité*, took place on the 6th of November. On the 10th of the same month the Convention decreed the abolition of Christianity, in place of which they established what they called the worship of Reason. Meanwhile, in the midst of these frenzied proceedings, the excited energies of the country continued both to struggle successfully with the internal opponents of the government, and to beat back the foreign armies that threatened its independence. Toulon, which some time before had been taken by the English, was recovered ; and the troops of the emigrants and their allies were defeated at various places. Thus, triumphant over his enemies both at home and abroad, Robespierre, it might be thought, had founded and consolidated his despotism in a manner which would have secured its stability. But the earthquake was already gathering its strength which was to overthrow him. By the beginning of the year 1794 a party, professing still more ferocious and ultra-democratic opinions than his own, the Hebertists, as they were called from one of their most active leaders, had obtained the ascendancy in the Commune and in the club of the Cordeliers, and were already openly assailing the popularity, and through that the power of the existing dictator. For a considerable time Robespierre bore up with intrepidity and effect against his antagonists, and even succeeded in obtaining the condemnation of eighteen of their chiefs, including Hébert himself, who were all executed in one day, the 25th of March. On the 5th

of the following month Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and nearly twenty more of their adherents, were brought to the scaffold. In this manner Robespierre endeavoured to rid himself both of the moderate and the more violent factions by which he was threatened, — of those who sought to pull him down from his supremacy for having made too large a use of proscription and the guillotine, as well of those who reviled him for not shedding enough of blood. As the latter party, however, from the course which the Revolution had hitherto run, seemed the most dangerous, as being the most likely to gather strength, he probably considered that it would be well to arm himself with some additional protection against its assaults from an opposite quarter. He therefore induced the Convention on the 7th of May to proclaim the restoration, as part of the national creed, of the two doctrines of the existence of a supreme being and the immortality of the soul, which had been declared to be antiquated falsehoods a short time before, when the worship of Reason was established. He probably thought by this measure to array on his side all those who shrunk from the absolute atheism which constituted the creed of the extreme democratic party. At the same time, to convince his friends among the rabble that no relaxation was intended in any other part of his system, he took care that blood should continue to flow on the scaffold more plentifully than ever. Among many other victims who perished about this time, was the sister of Louis XVI., the princess Elizabeth, who was executed on the 12th of May. But all his management and determination combined became insufficient at last to preserve this enormous tyrant from destruction. Perceiving his power to be evidently tottering, the more moderate party of the Convention, whom he had kept in awe so long as the undivided rabble were at his devotion,

determined, now that an opposition had raised itself against him in that quarter, to lend their best exertions to aid his downfall, in the hope of being able to seize the opportunity thereby afforded of establishing something like a regular government on the ruins of the alternate anarchy and despotism that had so long desolated the country. The attempt was a somewhat hazardous one,—for its result might have been the substitution, at least for a time, of even a more wild and devastating tyranny than that of Robespierre; but partly by a concurrence of favourable accidents, and partly by the able dispositions of Barras, who on that eventful day commanded the military attached to the Convention, on the 27th of July (the famous 9th Thermidor) the hopes of Robespierre and his rivals of the Commune were extinguished together; and the national legislature was once more reinstated in liberty and supremacy. This memorable catastrophe terminated in the consignment to the scaffold of Robespierre and ninety-one of his principal partisans.

Here ended the onward advance of the revolutionary wave. In the events that follow we distinctly perceive its recoil. This reaction must have taken place at some point, and, whatever had been the fortune of the 9th Thermidor, could not probably have been much longer prevented; for it was impossible that there should have followed many factions after that of Robespierre, each exceeding its predecessor in violence. Once begun, too, the continuance of the reflux for some time was inevitable; all the tendencies of society in that direction were now awakened and called into action; while those of an opposite character, having been so long on the stretch, were exhausted, and, overborne as they were, left capable only of offering every day a feebleness of resistance to the new progress of events. The first thing which the liberated

Convention proceeded to do, was to restrain within certain defined bounds the power of those terrible tribunals, the Committees of Public Safety, and of General Security. This accomplished, the legislature, skilfully availing itself of the vantage-ground on which it stood, of the aid of the troops who had committed themselves to its cause by their conduct on the 27th of July, and of the general longing of the country for a government of law and order, next dissolved the band of miscreants who called themselves the Commune of Paris, and took into its own hands the functions of the municipality of the city. Subsequent decrees began the work of reducing the clubs to subordination. On the 9th of December seventy-three deputies, who had fled from the Convention on the proscription of the Girondist chiefs eighteen months before, returned to their seats. On this accession of strength, the friends of moderation and legitimate government, who may be described as now consisting of a powerful combination of Girondists, Constitutionals, and men of all degrees of opinion which had held the ascendancy previous to the rise of Robespierre, proceeded to the adoption of still bolder measures; and, not satisfied with redressing the evils under which the state groaned, resolved also to set about the punishment of their authors. Many deputies of the democratic party accordingly were arrested, tried, and condemned to death. On the 24th of December, also, the absurd law of the maximum was suppressed, after it had been in force for more than a year, and produced the most disastrous consequences to every branch of the national industry. These different acts of reparation, however, could not of course be effected without encountering opposition from those who conceived themselves to be interested in the continuance of the reign of terror. The rabble, accordingly, with the

remaining chiefs of the defeated party for their leaders, at last roused themselves once more into activity, and rose against the Convention in successive revolts. On the 1st of April, 1795, and the 20th of May, in particular (the days, as they were called, of the 12th Germinal and the 1st Prairial), numerous mobs from the faubourgs attacked the hall of the legislative body, and almost succeeded in again making themselves the masters of the state. They were, however, on both occasions, at length driven back by the combined efforts of the armed force of the Sections, which since the day of the 9th Thermidor had supported the Convention, and of what were called Fréron's *Jeunesse Dorée*, a militia of young volunteers, chiefly from the higher and middle classes, whom that deputy had organized, and whose uniting principle was that of hostility to the farther march of the Revolution. These repeated collisions meanwhile were followed by their natural consequence—the separation to a still wider distance from each other of the two contending parties. In fact, for some time the reaction began to assume an absolutely anti-revolutionary tendency; so much so that, inspired with new hopes by the new aspect of affairs, the priests and other emigrants returned to France in great numbers. Some of the journals even ventured to advocate royalist opinions, and to oppose the Convention as still animated by too democratic a spirit. In these circumstances the course of the legislature was one of peculiar difficulty, obliged as it was, if it meant to save the state both from anarchy on the one hand and slavery on the other, to maintain at the same time a firm resistance to two contrary influences, both of great, though, for the moment, of unequal, force. They proceeded with all expedition to give the country a new constitution. This, known by the name of the Constitution of the year III., was

promulgated about the end of June. According to this arrangement, the legislative power of the state was committed to two representative bodies, the Council of Five Hundred, and the Council of Ancients, consisting of half that number of members, while a Committee, or Directory, of Five, was appointed to wield the executive authority. On being submitted to the people for their acceptance, this constitution encountered a formidable opposition from the royalists, who especially exerted themselves to prevent the popular ratification of two appended decrees, by which the Convention had reserved to itself the right of nominating two thirds of the members of the new legislature from its own body. But by having again recourse to the military talents of Barras, the Convention, on the 5th of October (the 13 Vendémiaire), obtained a complete triumph over its opponents, and the new constitution was established. It was on this occasion that Bonaparte first appeared in the drama of the Revolution, having been appointed second in command to Barras, at that officer's own request, who had been struck with the distinguished military talent he had displayed at the recent siege of Toulon. Having achieved this victory, on the 26th the Convention closed its sittings, after having existed rather more than three years. Among its last decrees were two especially honourable to itself, and indicative of the improved condition of the times: the first for the establishment of a National Institute, in lieu of the former scientific and literary academies; and the second for the general pardon and oblivion of all past political delinquencies.

Two days after the close of the Convention the new legislative councils held their first sitting. The contest between the different parties which divided the state continued for a considerable time after this

period ; and the government of the Directory, just as that of the Convention had been, was assailed by the hostility both of the royalists and of the more violent republicans. The finances of the country, also, were in the most deplorable state of exhaustion*. Although the brilliant military successes of the preceding year had conquered for France advantageous treaties of peace with some of her enemies, a new alliance had just been formed between England, Austria, and Russia, by which powers the war had already been renewed after the most formidable preparations. Such was the complication of difficulties with which the new government had to struggle at entering on its career—domestic discord, foreign war, and a bankruptcy of resources. In a short time, however, by the strenuous exertions of the persons charged with the task of calling again into activity the different energies of the state, every thing began to assume a new aspect. But we cannot here attempt any detail either of the financial operations of the Directory, or of the succession of victories abroad, which, during the campaigns of 1796 and the following years, continued to crown the republican arms. The star of Napoleon's fortunes had now fully risen, and was destined to shine for many years with undiminished lustre. All that we have now to do to complete our sketch of the Revolution, is to note the epochs of those few remaining changes which took place after this time in the domestic government of France. The people were now so exhausted that it was no longer easy to collect even a mob from the faubourgs of the capital. After this, accordingly, the parties who aspired to the supreme power were obliged to proceed by secret

* The issue of assignats had by this time amounted to the enormous sum of about thirty-nine milliards, or nearly sixteen hundred millions of pounds sterling.

conspiracies instead of insurrections and tumults. Of these conspiracies several were formed in the early days of the Directory both by the democrats and the royalists; but they were all detected before producing any effect. In May 1797, according to a provision in the new constitution, a third part of the members of the legislature retired; and such was the temper of the country at this time, that their places were filled in general with persons of anti-revolutionary politics. This led to a series of contests between the legislative councils and the majority of the Directory, which were protracted till the 4th of September (the 18th Fructidor), when the latter, by an act of military violence, contrived to overwhelm their opponents, and once more to secure to their own party the undisputed supremacy in the state. On this occasion sixty-five of the obnoxious deputies, together with Carnot and Barthélemy, who formed the minority in the Directory, were expelled from France. The renovation of another third of the deputies in the following May, owing to the exertions which had been made by that party since the late discomfiture of their antagonists, would have introduced into the legislature a large accession of Jacobinical members; but this would have just as little suited the views of the Directory, and they annulled the elections. Next year, however, (May, 1799,) the returns were of the same complexion; and the executive found it now expedient to yield. The consequence was that Jacobinism again assumed the ascendant, and threatened to renew the horrors of its former domination, had it not been that the people, now tired of convulsions, and with even their interest in politics almost extinguished, could hardly have been again made the instruments of any class of politicians as they were in the early years of the Revolution. In the course of a few weeks, however, the

Jacobins effected the introduction of two of their own number into the Directory, which gave them the majority of voices there. Soon after this the Jacobin club, which had been shut up by the government after the fall of Robespierre, was re-established. While this, however, and many other signs seemed to portend a new start of the Revolution towards confusion and anarchy, the sudden arrival of Bonaparte from Egypt quickly led to the well-known catastrophe of the 18th Brumaire (the 9th of November, 1799), when that victorious soldier, placing himself at the head of their own guard, dictated his commands to the assembled legislature; and, having ordered them to transfer their sittings to St. Cloud, next day entered their place of meeting in the palace there, and made his grenadiers disperse them at the point of the bayonet.

The hero of the Revolution now was Bonaparte—and that great movement, from having been originally popular, had become military—and from national, subservient to the will of an individual. This, indeed, was a result towards which events had been for some time tending; and now that it was realised, the Revolution may be said to have been completed. Monarchy, the unlimited sway of one man, was in fact restored; a single hand now controlled that mighty tide of change, which had been set in motion, and so long impelled, by the strength of a whole people. The first constitution established by Bonaparte, in room of that which he had destroyed, was one at the head of which he placed himself and his fellow-conspirators Siéyes and Roger-Ducos, the minority of the late Directory; while two small chambers, composed each of only twenty-five members, presented to the nation the ghost of a legislature. In the course of a few weeks Siéyes and Ducos resigned their places in the triumvirate, to

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make room for Cambacères and Lebrun, Bonaparte now assuming the distinctive title of First Consul ; and the members of the legislative chamber were increased to three hundred, the election of all of whom was vested in a senate, the members of which had been previously named by the consuls. Such was the Constitution of the year VIII., the principle of which was evidently one of unmitigated and almost undisguised despotism. It was established on the 25th of December, 1799. Exhausted as the nation was, this atrocious usurpation was not effected without occasioning violent discontents ; and conspiracies were even formed by various parties against the life of the new dictator. The failure of these attempts, however, only strengthened the foundations of his power ; by an arbitrary exertion of which, in the beginning of the year 1801, he at once expelled from France about a hundred and thirty of the most formidable opponents of his government. On the 15th of July, this year, the Catholic religion was re-established. On the 2d of August, 1802, Bonaparte was proclaimed Consul for Life. Another conspiracy against his life was discovered in February, 1804 ; and, on the 18th of May following, he was declared by Senatus-consultum Emperor of the French, the dignity being made hereditary in his family.

Thus, from the opening of the States-General in 1789, to the fall of Robespierre in 1794, we have a period of five years, during which the Revolution, in obedience to the motion originally impressed upon it, ran the natural course of a popular insurrection, till it reached the last excess of anarchy and mob-domination : we then have its rebound from this terminating point through a space, in like manner, of just about five years more, till it returned in 1799 to the other extreme, from which it had first set out, the

absorption of all the powers of the state in the supremacy of one man. Another period of nearly the same length carries us to the complete consolidation of this new monarchy, in the actual assumption by its founder of the title of Emperor. The empire lasted for twice five years, if we should even reckon only from its nominal commencement; and this may shew us that, in regard to stability, even a military despotism has the advantage over an unregulated liberty. About a year is then passed in the alternating struggle between Bonaparte and his conquerors. The Bourbons were finally re-seated on the throne of their ancestors by the battle of Waterloo, in 1815; and the government then established, one of imperfect liberty, remained unchanged for exactly three times five years. The natural tendencies of the French were, as they became more enlightened and more sensible of the value of real liberty, to obtain a more perfect freedom. The government chose to risk an imitation of the ancient despotism, and to substitute its arbitrary will for the law, in the hope that the lessons of forty years would have been forgotten. Then, once more, the people aroused themselves, and the despotism of an hour passed away "like a phantasma." Let us hope they will achieve for their country a constitution fulfilling at once the two opposite requisites of the grand political problem. "To make a government," says Burke, "requires no great prudence. Settle the seat of power; teach obedience; and the work is done. To give freedom is still more easy. It is not necessary to guide; it only requires to let go the rein. But to form a *free government*; that is, to temper together these opposite elements of liberty and restraint in one consistent work, requires much thought, deep reflection, a sagacious, powerful, and combining mind."



“ Depuis qu'on nous rassasie de principes,” said one of the most zealous friends of the former revolution, the able Adrian Duport, to the National Assembly, “ comment ne s'est on pas avisé que la stabilité est aussi un principe de gouvernement !” But France is, we trust, wiser now than when these words were spoken, and will not again commit the error of forgetting the truth they convey.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE TUILERIES DURING THE REVOLUTION OF 1789.

Removal of Louis XVI. from Versailles to the Tuileries—Different Places occupied by the successive Legislative Bodies—The Day of the Poniards—Negotiations with Mirabeau—Attempt of the King to go to St. Cloud—Flight of the Royal Family from Paris—Their Arrest at Varennes—Measures of the Assembly—Return of the King to the Capital—His Acceptance of the Constitution—Public Rejoicings.

THE Palace of Versailles, since its completion in 1702, had been the usual residence of the French monarchs. Here Louis XIV. spent the last years of his long reign, and Louis XV. the whole of his. For the first fifteen years also after Louis XVI. came to the throne, the Court continued to be held at Versailles. But on the memorable 6th of October, 1789, that ill-fated monarch and his queen left this sumptuous abode, never to return to it. On their arrival at Paris in the evening, in the hands of the mob, they were conducted first to the Hôtel de Ville, and thence to the Tuileries; and this palace was their ordinary dwelling, and eventually, it may be said, their prison, till the deposition of the king on the 10th of August, 1792, and the removal of him and his family to a more secure place of confinement.

The removal of Louis XVI., in 1789, from Versailles to Paris, was followed in a few days by that of the National Assembly. The first sitting which this body held in the capital was on the 19th of October, when they met in one of the halls of the

archiepiscopal palace in the Ile de la Cité. Here they remained till the 9th of November, when they removed to an apartment which had been prepared for them in the Manège or riding-house attached to the Tuileries. This building stood immediately to the north of the garden of the Tuileries, close to what is still called the Terrasse des Feuillans, from the adjoining convent of that name; although both the convent and the manège have now disappeared, the Rue de Rivoli having been partly built on the ground they occupied. The buildings of the Convent des Feuillans extended from the Rue St. Honoré to the garden of the palace; and when the National Assembly fixed itself in the Manège, some of the apartments in those buildings were appointed to serve as committee rooms. The hall, in which the Assembly sat, is said to have been both inconvenient and mean*.

The first National Assembly, commonly called the Constituent, continued to sit in the Manège till it was replaced in October 1791 by the second, or Legislative Assembly, which likewise retained the same place of meeting throughout its session. The Convention, which followed, also met in this apartment on the 21st of September, 1792; but removed in April next year to the splendid hall in the palace, formerly called the *Salle des Machines*, and now forming the *Salle des Spectacles*, or Theatre. On the closing of the Convention, and the establishment of the Constitution of the year III. in October, 1795, this hall was appropriated to the Council of the Ancients, and the Council of Five Hundred met in the Manège, which was repaired for their use. The members of the Directory at the same time esta-

* Dulaure, *Histoire de Paris*, viii. 377, and ix. 154; Dulaure, *Esquisses Historiques*, i. 334; *Dictionnaire Historique de Paris*, i. 278.

blished themselves in the Palace of the Luxembourg. These details, which we have thought it best to complete here, will give the reader a clear notion of the localities of many of the events noticed in the sequel. The two legislative bodies continued to occupy the same places of meeting, till they were transferred to St. Cloud by Bonaparte in November 1799*.

The 28th of February, 1791, is known in the annals of the Revolution by the name of *La Journée des Poignards*—the Day of the Poniards. On the morning of that day the mob had assembled in considerable strength in the Faubourg St. Antoine, with the intention of proceeding to Vincennes and demolishing a part of the palace there, which was at the time undergoing some repairs that it might serve as a state prison. These rioters were headed by Santerre, the Commandant of the Faubourg. They had actually carried their purpose into execution to some extent; when General Lafayette arrived among them at the head of a detachment of the national guards, and without much difficulty dispersed them, taking between sixty and seventy of them prisoners. On his return, however, to Paris, Lafayette encountered considerable opposition from the multitude—and so much personal outrage indeed, that he narrowly escaped with his life. His aid-de-camp, who was mistaken for him, was fired at more than once, as he passed through the wood of Vincennes; and afterwards the general himself, while riding along the Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine, was several times nearly assassinated. In the course of the evening the rumour of these events spread over the capital; it was said that a general insurrection had broken out, that Lafayette was killed, and that the royal residence was on the point of being attacked. Alarmed

* Dulaure, Histoire de Paris, vi. 552, & ix. 154.

by these reports, about nine or ten o'clock at night, a considerable body of the noblesse and other persons of monarchical principles, amounting, it has been said, to five or six hundred, presented themselves at the Tuileries, and obtained admission by means of orders which they had procured from the Duke de Villequier, one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber. They were armed not only with swords and pistols, but many of them with sword-canes and hunting-knives, or daggers; and they came, they said, to defend the person of the king, which they believed to be in imminent danger. Whatever Louis might have thought of the motives which inspired this offer, he felt both its extreme imprudence, and that, placed as he was, it was impossible for him to avail himself of it; the Parisian guard, to whom the defence of the palace properly belonged, and whose jealousy the known character and political sentiments alone of these intruders were so well calculated to excite, exclaimed against their intervention; and the king, in reply to their professions of loyalty and zeal for his safety, desired them to surrender their arms and retire, adding, 'I am in perfect security in the midst of the national guard.' At last Lafayette himself, who had been reported to have been killed, made his appearance; and he, perceiving at once the disastrous consequences which were likely to result from this rash enterprise, could not restrain himself from expressing what he felt in warm language to the band of strangers whom he found in the palace, and insisted that they should immediately deliver up their arms. They attempted to resist this demand, but were without much difficulty overpowered; and, at last, the king having again interposed his mandate in support of that of Lafayette, they laid down their arms, as ordered, on two tables which stood in the antechamber of the royal apart-

ment. These miscellaneous weapons were immediately seized by the national guards as trophies of their victory; and their late possessors were then subjected to the additional humiliation of being made to pass forth from the palace between two rows of these troops, who, with as little generosity as was to be expected in the circumstances, not only insulted the helpless cavaliers with hooting and all manner of derision, but did not spare still more violent acts of outrage.

It is understood that the result of the *Journée des Poignards*, and the conviction which it impressed upon the king's mind that his old friends were now rendered utterly incapable of assisting him, led to the renewal, in a more urgent manner, on the part of the royal family, of overtures, which had been already made some time before, to the celebrated Mirabeau, to secure the aid of his great talents and influence for the monarchical party. It is even believed that the negotiation had been completed—the orator gained over, the price of his treachery settled, part of it paid, and the plan, on which he was to commence operations in his new character, arranged—when he was suddenly attacked on the 28th of March with an illness which proved fatal on the fifth day after. These imputations on the memory of Mirabeau, however, it is but fair to state, rest upon documents, the authenticity of which is by no means universally admitted, and which were only brought to light long after he was in his grave. At the time of his death he was regarded by all as the chief tower of strength on the popular side; and the day of his funeral was one of general mourning throughout Paris. The National Assembly, whose hall had so often resounded with his wonderful eloquence, decreed on this occasion that the church of St. Gene-

viève should henceforth be set apart as a receptacle for the ashes of distinguished patriots, and that those of Mirabeau should be deposited there. "Nobody," says the Marquis des Ferrières, speaking of the sudden extinction of this brightest luminary of the Assembly, "nobody dared seize the sceptre which had dropt from the grasp of Mirabeau. Whenever an important question was under discussion, all turned their eyes mechanically to the place which the great orator had been wont to occupy; it seemed as if they invited him to mount the tribune, and were waiting, ere they came to a decision, for him to enlighten the Assembly*."

On the 18th of the following April the first direct demonstration was given to the king that he was a prisoner in the Tuileries. The royal family, intending to go to St. Cloud, had already entered the carriage for that purpose; when, as already related, the people prevented their departure, and compelled them to return to the palace. The mob on this occasion assembled in the *Place du Carrousel*, where the royal carriage was also drawn up. This commotion, we may just observe, as well as that which took place on the *Journée des Poignards*, has been attributed by some writers to the intrigues of the court itself. The king, they say, wished to make it seem that he was deprived of his liberty, that he might disgust moderate men with the Revolution, and justify in their eyes the step he had already resolved to take of flying from the kingdom. It is probable enough, indeed, that Louis and his family were not very sorry, after the affair turned out as it did, to have this convincing proof to appeal to of the duration in which they were held; but it seems quite unnecessary to suppose that they had actually for this pur-

* *Mémoires*, ii. 304, (quoted by Dulaure).

pose got up a scene so perfectly in keeping with the other events of the time, and therefore so likely to occur without any interference of theirs.

It was from the Tuileries that, on the night of the 20th of June following, Louis and his family set out on their ill-managed and unfortunate attempt to escape from the kingdom. Preparations for this flight had been for some time making. The person with whom the necessary arrangements were concerted for facilitating the departure of the fugitives, and protecting them from interruption on their route, was the Marquis de Bouillé, then military commandant of the departments of la Meurthe, la Meuse, la Moselle, and la Marne, comprising the whole territory from the immediate neighbourhood of Paris to the frontiers of the Low Countries. It was absolutely necessary, of course, for M. de Bouillé's guidance that the particular day on which the royal family were to set out on their journey should be fixed and made known to him. But, notwithstanding his urgent representations upon this point, he could not for a long time get the king to come to any decision upon this subject. First the 12th of June was proposed, then the 17th, and subsequently the 19th of the same month. The king wrote to him that on this last mentioned day he *hoped* to be ready to take his departure; but in the letter conveying this intimation, the writer forgot to prefix to his cyphers the mark indicating where their key was to be found, and it cost M. de Bouillé eight hours' labour before he discovered the secret of their interpretation. He immediately sent off the Duke de Choiseul to the king to say that every thing would be ready by the 19th,—that, in case of any absolutely insurmountable impediment arising, the attempt might still succeed, although deferred till the 20th,—but that after

that day no chance would remain. Although the king received this message, he eventually determined not to leave the Tuileries till the 20th at soonest; and it required the most earnest exertions of the Duke de Choiseul to get every thing in readiness for the commencement of the journey even then. At last it was arranged that the attempt should be made at twelve o'clock on the night of the 20th, literally the very last minute allowed by de Bouillé.

After supper, accordingly, on that evening, the different members of the family retired to bed at the usual hour. After some time, the king rose and proceeded to the queen's apartment, where he was soon joined by his children and his sister. One of the persons privy to the plan was M. de Simolin, the Russian ambassador, who had previously procured the necessary passport from the Minister at War, under the pretence that it was for a Russian Baroness de Korff, with her two children, attended by a female servant, a valet de chambre, and three footmen. The party therefore now attired themselves in dresses proper for the characters they were to sustain. The king, who was to pass as the valet, put on a brown frock-coat and a wig; the queen and Madame Elizabeth, both wearing large hats to conceal their features as much as possible, personated the baroness and her maid; and the children were represented by the Dauphin and his sister, the former being dressed as a girl. It had also been resolved that Madame de Tourzel, the governess of the children, should accompany them; so that the party, besides outriders, was to consist of six individuals in all. It had been necessary, therefore, to order a carriage to be built, considerably larger than the usual size, to contain so many persons. This carriage, which had been kept concealed for some time

in the Rue de Clichy, near the barrier of that name, was now waiting outside the city walls, immediately beyond the Barrière St. Martin.

To escape from the Tuileries without observation, even at that late hour, required the greatest precaution. But there was a small chamber near the royal apartments, which used to be occupied by one of the female servants, and from which there was a communication to another room on the ground-floor, having a private door opening upon one of the courts. This chamber the queen had taken possession of, having removed the servant to another part of the palace; and she had also obtained the key of the apartment below. Here, therefore, was a way of exit, which saved the risk of making the attempt by any of the principal doors. Availing themselves, accordingly, of this outlet, Madame de Tourzel and the two children first made their escape; they were followed by Madame Elizabeth, who was accompanied by M. de Saint-Pardoux, as her conductor; and then the king, having also a guide along with him, left the palace. All these parties made their way without difficulty to where a vehicle was waiting for them in what was then called la Place du Petit Carrousel, to convey them to the Barrière St. Martin, where their travelling coach was stationed. The Place du Petit Carrousel was then separated from the Place du Grand Carrousel by several old buildings, which have since been removed; and the spot where the royal fugitives assembled on this occasion was very near the corner where the present Rue de Rivoli meets the Rue de l'Echelle. The distance they had to walk, therefore, was at most but a few hundred yards. Yet the queen, who was the last in leaving the Tuileries, was unfortunate enough to lose her way entirely in attempting to direct her steps to this rendezvous,

although she was accompanied by a person who had undertaken to act as her guide. The first object which she perceived, on entering the Place du Carrousel, was the carriage of General Lafayette. The night was very dark; but the attendants of the general carried torches, the light of which the queen, disguised as she was, naturally wished to avoid; and she therefore walked aside till the carriage had passed. This rencontre, however, or the movement she had made to escape from it, seems to have confused both herself and her conductor; and instead of turning to the left hand, as they ought to have done, they took the opposite direction, and actually crossing the river by the Pont Royal, wandered for a long time, without any notion of where they were, along the quays and streets on the opposite side of it. At last they ventured to ask a sentinel to tell them their way; and, having by his directions recrossed the river, they soon found themselves once more in the court of the Tuileries, and got from thence to the place where the carriage was waiting for them, without any further accident. The fugitives, however, had in this way already lost fully an hour at a time when every minute was precious.

But this was not the only misfortune of the same kind which attended the commencement of their journey. When they had all reassembled and got into the coach, the Count de Fersen mounted the box to drive; but, as ill acquainted with Paris as the other persons to whom the conduct of the enterprise had been entrusted, this gentleman, instead of proceeding directly towards the Barrière St. Martin, set off in the first instance in quite an opposite course, namely, along the Rue St. Honoré, which he followed till he came to the Boulevard de la Madeleine, where he turned off to the right and pursued the line of the Boulevards as far as the Rue St. Martin. A

glance at the plan of the city will shew the reader what a circuitous route this was. Proceeding now, however, along the Rue du Faubourg St. Martin, they at last got beyond the city wall, and reached the spot where their travelling carriage stood ready for them. On entering this vehicle, they overturned the other in a ditch, and left it there.

It does not belong to our present purpose to pursue, except very cursorily, the remainder of the story of this ill-starred journey. At the village of Bondy, about three leagues from the capital, they were joined by a coach containing two other ladies who had belonged to the court; and the two carriages thenceforward proceeded in company. This augmented attendance, while it added to the ordinary chances of delay, was well calculated, in conjunction with the unusual appearance of the vehicle in which their majesties rode, to attract general attention to the disguised travellers, and thereby greatly to increase the risk of their persons being discovered. Both at Claye and afterwards at Châlons some time was lost in repairing injuries which the carriages had sustained. At Châlons, also, several persons are said to have recognised the king; but they gave no information of their suspicions to the authorities. About half past six o'clock in the evening the party arrived at Pont-de-Sommeville, where they expected to meet the first detachment of military sent forward for their protection by the Marquis de Bouillé. But the Duke de Choiseul, to whom the command of the detachment had been given, after waiting beyond the latest hour at which he conceived it possible the arrival of the royal family was to be looked for, had been obliged to retire from his post. This he seems to have done about a quarter before six o'clock—so that if the carriages had made their appearance even a single hour

sooner than they did they would have been in time for this escort. As matters had turned out, there was too much reason to fear that all the arrangements which had been made for the remainder of the journey would be disconcerted and rendered unavailable; since it was probable that the same necessity which appeared to have prevented this first detachment from remaining at its station would also withdraw the others from the successive points at which they were to have been placed, before the arrival of the royal fugitives. And so in some sort it happened. When the travellers reached the town of St. Menehould at half past eight, the second guard, which had been stationed at this place, although they had not left the town, had dismounted from their horses, and dispersed themselves. They had done this to avoid the observation of the inhabitants, whose suspicions had begun to be excited by the length of time during which the troops had remained waiting, as they asserted, for the arrival of a quantity of treasure belonging to the government, which still had not made its appearance. But the consequence was that, on the royal carriages reaching the town, none of the expected preparations appeared to have been made. The king therefore was in the greatest perplexity; and, in his agitation, and the absence of any other person to assume the direction of affairs, he was obliged to expose himself so much that he excited both the notice and the suspicions of the bystanders. It may be supposed that he did not sustain his new character very naturally in all points. Drouet, the postmaster, in particular, felt almost convinced that the pretended valet was in reality the king; especially after comparing his face with the engraving on an assignat for fifty livres, which he happened to have in his possession. This person, however, did not attempt to detain the car-

riage, which, after stopping a short time, proceeded on the road towards Clermont; but as soon as it had departed, he sent his son forward to Varennes to communicate what he suspected to the magistrates of that town. By this time the report that the king was in the carriage had spread itself generally among the inhabitants of St. Menehould; and, the tocsin having sounded and the drum beat to arms, the national guard had assembled, and would not permit the departure of M. de Bouillé's dragoons, who otherwise would have followed the royal party. The fugitives had left Clermont before Drouet arrived—although here also the commander of the detachment sent for their protection, had been obliged, after retaining his post as long as possible, to dismiss his men to their barracks before they made their appearance. From Clermont they proceeded to Varennes, which they reached at half-past eleven at night. But after their arrival here, they lost more than half an hour before they could learn at which of the inns a relay of horses, which they expected to be ready for them, was to be found. Meantime Drouet's son arrived, and took instant measures, by advertising the mayor of the town and the commandant of the national guard, to prevent those of whom he was in pursuit from making their escape. Accordingly when the king, after they had at last obtained their horses, applied for the passport necessary to enable them to pursue their journey, he was informed that they could not be permitted to leave the place that night.

At Paris, meanwhile, the flight of the royal family had been discovered at an early hour in the morning. General Lafayette, on being informed of what had taken place, at six o'clock, immediately sent off several officers in different directions, to announce every where that the enemies of their country had carried off the king, and to command that he

should be arrested wherever he was found. By eight o'clock the news had spread over all Paris; and crowds soon began to assemble around the Tuileries, the hall of the National Assembly, and in other public places. The general sentiment of indignation against the monarch soon began to display itself in the defacement of the royal arms, and other similar emblems, wherever they presented themselves; and in the removal of various busts of himself which Louis XIV. had set up throughout the city; but the populace did not proceed, in the course of the day, to any more violent excesses. The Assembly having met at nine o'clock, the mayor immediately repaired to their hall to announce in form the departure, or, as it was styled, the carrying off (*l'enlèvement*) of the king; on which, with dignified calmness and an unanimity becoming the crisis, that body passed the necessary decrees for the despatch of couriers after the fugitives, the detention of all persons attempting to leave the kingdom, the maintenance of the executive government during the absence of its head, and whatever other measures were demanded in order to uphold the tranquillity of the city and the kingdom, and to re-assure the public mind. The first of the messengers sent from Paris who reached Varennes, were M. Romeuf, aide-de-camp of General Lafayette, and M. Baillon, a municipal officer. They arrived together about half past six on the morning of the 22d; and, immediately proceeding to the house in which their majesties were detained, delivered to the king the decree of the National Assembly for his arrest. All chance of escape was now over. At eight o'clock, therefore, the royal family quietly submitted again to take their seats, in order to be driven back to Paris in the same carriage which had conveyed them thus far on their flight from that capital. Returning by Clermont and St. Menes, they arrived,

about eleven o'clock at night, at Châlons, where they remained till next morning. Continuing their route on the 23d, they proceeded that day as far as Epernay. Here they were joined by Messieurs Barnave, Petion, and De Latour-Maubourg, the commissioners from the National Assembly; the two former of whom took their places in the first carriage with their majesties, while the last-mentioned seated himself with the attendants in the other. "An immense multitude and an army," say the commissioners in a letter to the Assembly, "accompanied our progress." They passed the night of the 24th at Dormans; and at seven o'clock in the evening of the following day, the royal carriage, escorted by about ten thousand national guards, and a mob, whose numbers had been rapidly increasing all the way from Varennes, having driven along the Boulevards as far as the Place Louis XV., entered the garden of the Tuileries by the Pont Tournant. The news of the king's arrest had been brought to Paris about ten o'clock on the evening of the 22d, by a messenger specially despatched for that purpose by the civic authorities of Varennes; so that the Assembly had had nearly three days for the arrangement of the measures to be taken on his arrival. They provided accordingly, in the first place, as far as they could for the preservation of order on the entry of the royal family into the capital; and on the morning which followed this event they passed a decree for virtually suspending the authority of the king, and detaining him, along with the queen and the dauphin, in custody, by appointing a guard to each. This resolution was dictated by quite as much moderation as could have been expected in the circumstances. The royal family remained in the same state of confinement till the 3d of September following, when the new Constitution was presented to

the king by the Assembly, and accepted by him, on which he was immediately restored to liberty, and the exercise of his civil functions. But the impression made upon the public mind by this attempted flight, and its issue, was never obliterated; and nothing perhaps in the early course of the Revolution contributed so greatly to extinguish the ancient prejudices of the people in favour of the royal person and dignity, and to precipitate the crisis in which both perished.

On the 3d of September, as we have mentioned, the Constitution agreed upon by the Assembly was presented to the king. It was carried to the palace by a deputation of sixty of the members, who were received by the king, while the queen, the dauphin, and his sister, presented themselves at the door of the apartment. After expressing in general terms his attachment to the national liberties, and his confidence in the loyalty of his people, "There," said his majesty to the deputies, "are my wife and my children, whose sentiments are the same as my own." The queen felt it necessary to confirm this assurance, however far she was from partaking in the feelings of hope and confidence which it seemed to imply. On the 13th the king wrote to the Assembly that he was willing to accept the Constitution; and next day accordingly he proceeded to their hall to give his public assent to it, with the solemnities becoming so important an act. At the hour of noon a discharge of cannon announced the approach of his majesty; who, having entered the hall, seated himself on a chair which had been placed for him beside that of the president. The members, meanwhile, in conformity to a resolution which had been passed in the earlier part of the day, remained in their places without rising. The king himself rose when about to read his address; but on perceiving that no one else followed his example he resumed his seat, and

proceeded to speak as follows: "I have come, gentlemen," said he, "to ratify solemnly in this place the acceptance of the Constitution which I have already declared: wherefore I swear to be faithful to the nation and to the law, and to employ all the power which is delegated to me, in maintaining the Constitution, and causing the laws to be executed. May this great and memorable epoch be that of the re-establishment of peace and union—the pledge of the happiness of the people and the prosperity of the empire." The tone and look both of dignity and of confidence with which these words were spoken, drew forth the plaudits of the assembly. After a few words in reply from the president, his majesty signed the Constitution; and then, retiring from the hall, was followed by the whole of the members, who escorted him to the sound of military music as far as the door of the palace. As soon, however, as he had escaped from the public gaze, the monarch, it would appear, gave free vent to the expression of very different sentiments from those he had so recently manifested. Proceeding immediately to the apartment of the queen, who had also been present at the scene in the Assembly, he threw himself on a chair, and while the tears gushed from his eyes, addressing himself to her majesty, bewailed in the bitterest terms what he called the humiliation she had seen him undergo. Such is the relation of Madame de Campan, who was in the room. The queen could not console him; but, throwing herself on her knees at his feet, clung to him, and joined in his grief and lamentations. It seemed to both that the manner in which the king had been treated by the Assembly, in being placed merely on a level with the president, and received without any of the usual marks of respect, was both cruelly insulting in itself, and omi-

nous of the entire overthrow at no distant hour of the royal authority. Since such had been the demeanour of the existing assembly, what was not to be expected from the one immediately about to meet, the great majority of the members of which were well known to be of much more violently antimonarchical principles even than their predecessors! The prospect seemed to their majesties one of deepest gloom. Such were the feelings that reigned within the palace. Without all was popular triumph and rejoicing. Four days after the king's visit to the Assembly, a public fête, which had been decreed by that body, was celebrated in Paris, in honour of the great act,—the completion as it were of the edifice of freedom,—which had just been consummated. The Constitution was solemnly proclaimed by the civic authorities before the Hôtel de Ville, in the Place du Carrousel, in the Rue St. Honoré opposite to the Place Vendôme, and in the Champ de Mars. In the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated; and nowhere was there seen a more splendid display of festoons of light, transparencies, and other such ornaments, than along the front of the Tuileries and in the garden of that palace. The royal family drove in their carriage through the streets and to the different public places, to witness the rejoicings; and were in general received by the people with respect and demonstrations of attachment. Madame de Campan relates, however, that whenever the cry of *Vive le Roi* was uttered by the crowd around the royal carriage, a man who had stationed himself by its side, and steadily kept his place there, immediately called out, “*Ne les croyez pas; Vive la Nation!*” *Trust them not; the Nation for ever!* Dulaure* remarks that the general sentiment was most correctly expressed by a

* *Exquisses Historiques*, ii. 31,

transparency which a shoemaker of the Rue St. Honoré had placed over the door of his shop, exhibiting the following words;—

“Vive le Roi,
S’il est de bonne foi.”

The members of the first National Assembly held their last sitting on the 30th of September, the king having on that occasion again presented himself among them, and read an address full of apparently the most cordial assurances of his satisfaction with the new order of things; and next day their successors met, as already mentioned, in the same hall.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE TUILERIES DURING THE REVOLUTION
OF 1789,—CONTINUED.

Days of the 20th June and the 10th August, 1792.

THE 20th of June, a day which the Oath of the Tennis Court in 1789, and the flight of the royal family in 1791, had already made so famous in the annals of the Revolution, was rendered yet more memorable by the extraordinary scenes in the Tuileries and other parts of Paris, of which it was the witness in 1792.

By this time the Court and the Legislative Assembly were in complete opposition. In the latter the republican, or, as it was afterwards called, the Girondist party, had obtained such an ascendancy that the king had been forced to select a ministry from that faction. But there was little cordiality from the first between Louis and his new cabinet; and in no long time their mutual coldness or dislike grew into open and irreconcilable hostility. At last, on the evening of the 12th of June, Roland, the head of the new administration, and two of his colleagues, suddenly received intimation of their dismissal; and in a few days an entire change of ministry took place. The advisers whom the king had now selected, however, belonged unfortunately to the minority in the Assembly; a sufficient proof of which appeared in the proceedings of that body when, immediately upon learning the dismissal of Roland and his associates, they passed a resolution

declaring that the ex-ministers, in quitting office, carried with them the regrets of their country.

But the republican party, on this occasion, determined not to limit their exertions in favour of their own opinions within the limits prescribed by the law. Their object, in fact, was a second revolution—a result only to be brought about by the overthrow of the law. They therefore resolved to work by other machinery. It was a popular commotion which destroyed the Bastille; the same agency seemed to them the fittest for overturning the throne. Accordingly measures were taken to excite the multitude to a new demonstration of their strength; with the view, probably, in the first instance of only terrifying the king by such a display into an abandonment of the course he had recently pursued, and overawing the constitutional party into acquiescence with the new movement. The first symptoms of the coming tumult appeared on Monday the 17th of June, on which and the following day considerable crowds collected in the faubourg St. Antoine. The directory of the department of Paris, at the head of which was the Duke de Rochefoucauld, a constitutionalist, as soon as information was received of these assemblages, took every precaution in its power to prevent the disorders which were to be apprehended. Not so the authorities of the city. When it was proposed that they should interfere to put down the mob, they got rid of the motion by passing to the order of the day. On the 19th it was intimated to the Assembly that the multitude intended to proceed to the Tuileries in arms, to present an address to the king; and, upon its being thereupon proposed to that body that a prohibition should be issued against so illegal and dangerous a proceeding, they also chose to pass to the order of the day.

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On the 20th, crowds began to assemble by break of day in the faubourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marcel. Meanwhile, upon second thoughts, the city authorities had deemed it decent not to stand altogether aloof in such a crisis. In the course of this morning, therefore, a proclamation from them, in reference to what was going on, appeared on the walls: but it did not contain a syllable in disapprobation of the mob or their designs. It merely intimated that the commander of the national guards had received orders to assemble the armed citizens, with their several banners, that they might thus, as it was vaguely phrased, "march together under the command of the officers of battalions." The crowd probably understood this intimation, and not erroneously, as merely a friendly hint that their disorderly procession would not be left without the defence of other arms in addition to those which they themselves carried. However, it has also been stated that at an early hour some of the magistrates actually appeared among the people in their municipal scarfs, and gravely admonished them to depart to their homes. "You have acted *your* part," said one of the rabble to these orators, when they had concluded their exhortations; "move out of the way, and let us act ours*."

About eight o'clock the multitude began to form into columns, and they were soon on their march. They were armed with iron-headed sticks, pikes, scythes, axes, and other such weapons, many of which were adorned with tricoloured ribands. The following were some of the inscriptions on the banners under which they marched: "Louis, the people are weary of suffering"—"Tremble, tyrant, thy last hour is come"—"The people wish complete liberty, or death." One individual carried the remnant of a

* Moore's Journal, ii. 204.

pair of black breeches on a pike, with the inscription, "Tremble, tyrants,—behold the sans-culottes*." They took their way, in the first instance, to the hall of the Assembly. The different bodies of the national guards, whom they met on their progress, offered them no interruption; but on the contrary seemed rather to have been brought out to honour, or, if necessary, to protect, their procession.

When they arrived in front of the hall where the legislative body were sitting, they demanded admission. At this time their numbers amounted to about eight thousand persons†. It was in vain that several of the members of the Assembly counselled resistance to this audacious and insulting proposition. The majority, to their eternal disgrace, decided that it should be submitted to. A scene accordingly followed beyond expression humiliating. First, an orator deputed by the mob approached the bar, and delivered a speech to the assembled legislators, in which he rated them in no measured terms for their want of patriotism, the divisions which reigned among them, and other alleged delinquencies. On the conclusion of this harangue, the whole multitude—men, women, and children—with their arms in their hands, and their banners waving, passed through the hall in succession; the members all the while remaining in their places, and the president looking down upon the scene from his chair. The long and miscellaneous array occupied fully three hours in thus exhibiting themselves. As they moved along they danced tumultuously, singing the favourite

* Toulangeon, *Histoire de la Revolution*, quoted by Dulaure, *Exquisses*, ii. 115.

† Dulaure, *ibid.* Some authorities, however, make them much more numerous. Fautin-Desodoardes, for instance, asserts that the mob consisted of about fifty-five thousand individuals. —*Histoire de la Revolution*, ii. 155.

revolutionary air of *ça ira*, or shouting, *Down with the veto! The Sans-Culottes for ever!* and other such wild exclamations.

On leaving the Assembly they proceeded directly to the Place du Carrousel. A number of gendarmes, and several battalions of national guards and of Swiss, were drawn up in front of the palace, or dispersed in its interior; but no regular plan of resistance had been formed, and indeed the greater part of the men were not to be depended on. All the entries, however, were shut, except that leading from the Place du Carrousel, which was left half open. A guard was stationed beside it; but this proved no obstacle to the irruption of the mob under the leaders who now openly appeared at their head. Two municipal officers coming up, commanded in a tone of authority that the gate should instantly be thrown wide open to the people. As they had brought up a piece of artillery the better to enforce this order, it was obeyed without farther parley. "In a moment," to use the words of M. Toulangeon, "the courts, the staircases, the vestibules, the outer apartments of the palace are filled with the rabble, and the guards disperse."

Within the palace at this important and perilous crisis all had been contention and confusion. About a hundred and fifty gentlemen, on the first rumour of the disturbances, had assembled around the king, and were ready to protect him and his family with their lives; but at sight of their aristocratic attire the national guards and gendarmes assailed them with an outcry of indignation. The king was forced in consequence to desire them first to retire from the posts where they had stationed themselves in his immediate presence, and afterwards to order them to leave the palace. But no sooner had the troops obtained this victory than it was found that a large por-

tion of them were resolved not to act against the people. The whole body of the gendarmes refused to load their muskets. When the commandant, also, of one of the battalions of the national guard was proceeding to dispose the different forces as he deemed best for the protection of the palace, a captain of the Parisian militia told him at once that he would not suffer the cannons belonging to his company to be moved, as he was not there to fight on his side of the question.

In this state of affairs, it was obviously impossible to attempt any opposition to the onset of the crowd. The doors of the inner apartments gave way one after another before the blows of their axes; or, if any resistance was offered for a moment, a piece of artillery which they bore along with them on their shoulders, being directed against the point of attack, immediately removed all interruption. At last they arrived at the door of the room in which the king was; which Louis, on their beginning to force it, ordered to be thrown open, and met them, as they entered, waving his hat over his head and crying *Vive la Nation!*

In this apartment, besides the king, the mob found her majesty, Madame Elizabeth, the princess royal, and the dauphin, together with five or six gentlemen. After some confusion it was at last arranged that the queen and the children should retire, and that the king should take his place on a raised seat within the embrasure of a window which looked down upon the great court. Here accordingly he stationed himself, five or six grenadiers of the national guard, on whose attachment he could depend, being posted in front of him, to protect him from the pressure of the crowd. The queen meanwhile took her place in the council chamber, where she sat, sur-

rounded by several ladies of the court, behind a large table, having the dauphin seated before her. All the adjacent rooms were filled with the armed and tumultuous rabble.

When the king had taken the position assigned to him, hundreds of voices began to address him at once, and to shower on him their menaces and reproaches. Cries of, *Recall the Patriot Ministers, Turn off your Priests, Choose between Paris and Coblenz, Down with the Veto! To the devil with the Veto!* resounded from all quarters. The king strove in vain to make himself heard in the midst of this uproar; it was to no purpose even that he rung a bell violently to obtain a moment's silence. For several hours all sorts of indignities were offered to him. One of the mob handing him a red cap on the end of a pike, called out to him to put it on, if he really loved the people as he said; and after one of the grenadiers had stretched the cap on his knee, on its being found too small, the king took it, and continued to wear it all the time the mob remained. It was also insisted that he should drink to the health of the nation; on which, some wine being brought, he first drunk himself from one of the bottles, there being no glass, and then, when glasses were at last procured, poured out to all around him.

Some time before this, several members of the Assembly, deputed by that body, had arrived in the room; but, matters not having yet come to extremities, nor the outrages of the mob proceeded beyond insulting language, those gentlemen returned to the Assembly and reported that the conduct of the people was very respectful. The king, they added, was also quite calm and free from apprehension—a proof of which he had given, while they were present, by taking the hand of one of the grenadiers, who had

requested him not to be afraid, and bidding the man feel, while he placed it on his breast, that his heart beat calmly.

When several hours had elapsed, however, the Assembly thought proper to send a second deputation to the palace. By this time the king was attired in the red bonnet, and busy in pouring out wine to the mob. A little before this, Petion, the mayor of Paris, had made his appearance in the room, and coming up to the king, had addressed him, "Sire, I have only this instant learned the situation in which you are." "That is surprising," replied his majesty, "for I have been in this situation above three hours." It was now considered, however, that matters had proceeded far enough for the present. Petion therefore mounted a chair, and, addressing the multitude, said, "Citizens, all you who hear me, you have now in a legal manner stated your wishes to the hereditary representative; return each of you to his home; you can do no more than you have done; without doubt, your example will be imitated by the departments, and the king will no longer be able to avoid yielding to the desire of the people. Retire now, I again request you; and do not by remaining longer give occasion to the enemies of the commonwealth to misrepresent your virtuous intentions." The deputation at the same time having contrived to withdraw the king through a concealed door in the room, the rabble at last slowly proceeded to leave the palace. They had not, however, entirely deserted it before eight o'clock in the evening. The uproar in the council chamber, where the queen was, had at times during the afternoon been nearly as violent as that to which the king was exposed. Her majesty, as already mentioned, had taken her seat behind a large table, which protected her from the pressure of the crowd; and she had also, to appease their resent-

ment as far as she could, placed among the ornaments of her head-dress a very conspicuous tri-coloured cockade. But a woman, who with a train of followers rushed into the room, not being satisfied with the degree of conformity to the modes of the day indicated by this popular emblem, handed a red cap to a military officer who stood in front of the queen, desiring him to give it to her that she might put it on. The king, the woman added, whom she had just left, was wearing such another. She and her companions appeared to be satisfied, however, when her majesty, instead of putting it on her own head, put it on that of the dauphin. The great body of the mob, after leaving the king, passed through this apartment; and many of the wretches who composed the tumultuous array assailed her majesty with the most atrocious language.

But the 20th of June was only the forerunner of a much more terrific day, the famous 10th of August. The interval between these two periods was marked by a succession of minor events, indicating by their contradictory character the feverish and uneasy state of the body politic. On the 6th of July Petion was suspended from his functions as mayor by the departmental directory of Paris for his conduct on the occasion of the recent attack on the Tuileries. On the 7th the two conflicting parties in the Assembly, the Constitutionals and the Republicans, agreed in a moment of enthusiasm to forget their past differences; and, embracing each other, swore for the future to labour together in harmony for the benefit of their common country. But this reconciliation hardly lasted beyond the day on which it was pronounced. Almost the only effect which it produced was the re-opening to the public on the day following of the garden of the Tuileries, the different entrances to which had been kept shut since the 20th of the pre-

ceding month. On the 11th the Assembly declared the country in danger. On the 13th they restored Petion to the exercise of his authority; and on the following day, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, both he and the king appeared at the fête in the Champ de Mars, the one for the moment the triumphing idol, the other the already bound and all but sacrificed victim, of that tyrannizing populace, whose insatiable appetite for blood was within a few months to devour both*. In one of the speeches delivered on this occasion, the orator boldly invited his auditors to join him in swearing destruction to all kings. Before the end of June, indeed, addresses had been read in the Assembly from Brest, Blois, Lyons, and other places, calling upon the legislature to take into consideration the question of the dethronement of Louis; and on the 9th of the present month Brissot had made a proposition to that effect from the tribune. This motion was renewed on the 25th by another member. Meanwhile a circumstance which took place out of doors led to a curious and characteristic display of the temper of the times. The garden of the Tuileries, after being opened on the 8th, had been shut again in a few days; but on the 25th the Assembly decreed that the *Terrace des Feuillans* should be considered as comprehended within the precincts of their hall, and hence as accessible to the public. To prevent the persons who might assemble on this *national* ground, as it was called, from trespassing upon the garden, which was divided from it only by a very low wall and a flight of steps at one end, it was ordered that a tri-coloured riband should be sus-

* Petion was proscribed with the other Girondist deputies in May 1793; but made his escape from Paris, and fled first to Normandy, and from thence to La Gironde, where his body was some time after found in a field half devoured by the wolves.

pended along the trees around the boundaries of the terrace. This completely answered the purpose. Although the lowest of the people were in the habit of collecting in numbers on the terrace, no instance occurred of any one violating this barrier, so weak in itself, but so strong in its appeal to their pride and patriotism. The same mob, however, who testified so much respect for this riband, shewed very little for some of the more common-place sanctions of law and morality. On the very evening on which it was first hung up, M. d'Eprémesnil, who, although one of the most conspicuous popular favorites in the early days of the Revolution, was now regarded as an aristocrat, having made his appearance on the terrace, a rabble of armed sans-culottes fell upon him, wounded him severely, and would have massacred him on the spot, had not some members of the Assembly come up on hearing his cries, and, by throwing themselves between him and his assassins, with difficulty rescued him from their hands. "And, even as you now are," said d'Eprémesnil on this occasion to Petion, who approached him as he lay bleeding and exhausted immediately after his escape, "I also was one of this people's idols."

On the 25th a band of twelve hundred armed men arrived in Paris from Britany, and on the 30th five hundred more from Marseilles. The professed object of these strangers, afterwards generally known by the name of the *Fédérés*, was to aid the citizens of Paris in their present contest with the Court; and in this, as we shall see immediately, they did good service. But the *Fédérés* had in fact been invited to the capital by the Girondists, and to that party they continued to adhere during their stay, protecting them from the mob when they lost their short-lived ascendancy as zealously as they at first performed their part in that popular insurrection which it was

now deemed meet to put in motion. Their presence in the mean time undoubtedly contributed in no small degree to embolden the friends of republicanism, and to precipitate the overthrow of the monarchy. On the 26th and 27th the forty-eight sections into which Paris was divided having come to a vote upon the question of the dethronement of the king, forty-seven gave their suffrages in favour of that measure. On the 3d of August Petion appeared at the bar of the Assembly; and in the name of the *Commune*, or Common Council of the city, demanded that Louis should be immediately deposed, and that the Assembly should name a ministry to exercise the functions of the executive till a national convention could be convoked. On the 6th a petition, enforcing the same prayer, was presented by a numerous mob, after it had lain for signature the three preceding days in the Champ de Mars. The faction, indeed, which aimed at a second revolution, was now everywhere triumphant. On the evening of the 8th many of the members of the Assembly, whose opinions were known to be unfavorable to this project, were grossly insulted, and assailed with the most alarming threats, by the crowd on their leaving the hall. Next day a violent discussion took place in the Assembly on the complaints of these deputies, of which Dr. Moore, who was present, has given an animated account. Among other letters which were read by the president, one was from a member, who stated that he had been attacked by a number of men in the dress of the national guards, who had threatened to put him to death for a recent vote he had given, which when they were preparing to do, he had been saved by a grenadier and some citizens. Others related that the writers had been obliged to take refuge from the *Fédérés* in a guard-house, from which they had afterwards to make their

escape through a back window on finding that it was on the point of being forced. One deputy wrote that "having gone for refuge into a shop in the Rue St. Honoré, one of the *Fédérés* had followed him, and declared, that, if ever he saw him attempt to return to the Assembly, he would strike off his head with a stroke of his sabre, which he drew half out of the scabbard as he spoke." "When mention was made," continues Dr. Moore, "in the former letter, of the deputies escaping from the window of the *corps de garde*, it excited some mirth in the galleries; but at the idea of one of their heads being cut off, I thought there would have been no end of exultation; there was a loud and universal peal of laughter from all the galleries. And the members on one side of the hall were as violent in expressing their indignation. Some called out to the president to put an end to the meeting: others proposed that it should be immediately decreed that the National Assembly should withdraw from Paris to some other town in France, where they could deliberate in safety, and free from insult. The noise and disorder were excessive: fifty members were vociferating at once; I never was witness to a scene so tumultuous; the bell, as well as the voice of the president, was drowned in a storm, compared to which, the most boisterous night I ever was witness to in the House of Commons was a calm."

M. Roederer, the procurator of the department, having been called to the bar on this occasion, announced that one of the sections intended to sound the tocsin by the hour of midnight, if the Assembly should not have decreed the dethronement of the king by that time. This project, indeed, had been formed for some days, and openly spoken of. Dr. Moore relates, that on the 6th, the day before he arrived in Paris, a man who had just come from the

capital, and whom he met at Clermont, assured him that a conspiracy, in which certain people had been for some time engaged, would break out on the 9th of the month. But the most authentic and circumstantial narrative of the manner in which the insurrection was prepared, was not long after given by Carra, who had been himself one of the chief conspirators, in his famous newspaper, the *Annales Patriotiques*. According to this account the scheme originated with a committee of forty-three members of the Jacobin club, five of whom were appointed to act as a secret directory for carrying it into execution. This directory held their first meeting at the sign of the Golden Sun, a small tavern in the Rue St. Antoine, near the site of the Bastille, on the night of the 25th of July. At two o'clock in the morning they rose and proceeded to the Place de la Bastille, with the intention of then stirring up the populace; but "our project," says Carra, "failed this time from the prudence of the mayor, who probably felt that we were not sufficiently prepared (*assez en mesure*) at that moment." The next time they met at eight o'clock on the evening of the 4th of August, in a chamber belonging to Antoine, formerly a member of the Constituent Assembly, who lived in the Rue St. Honoré, opposite to the Church of the Assumption, in the same house with Robespierre, who, however, had no concern in the conspiracy. On this occasion it was also at first proposed to make the attempt in the course of the night; but on a communication of that intention being made to Santerre and another person whose co-operation was requisite, it was found that they were not yet sufficiently prepared; and it was therefore determined to await the result of the debate which was to take place in the Assembly on the 9th, on the subject of suspending the kingly office. On that me-

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morale night the principal contrivers of the plot, dividing themselves into three bodies, assembled in so many different places as soon as the tocsin began to sound—some in the Faubourg St. Marcel—Santerre and three others in the Faubourg St. Antoine—and Carra himself with another in the apartment of the commander of the *Fédérés* from Marseilles, who were lodged in the barracks called *La Nouvelle France*, in the Rue du Faubourg Poissonnière. To all this we may merely add, that the inmates of the Tuileries themselves were perfectly aware that a second attack upon the palace was in preparation ; but the information they had received led them to suppose that it would not take place till the night of the 12th ; and this miscalculation prevented the defensive arrangements from being so formidable as they otherwise would have been.

However, a considerable number of troops were collected in the course of the night within and around the palace. Twelve hundred Swiss guards were under arms in various positions in the vicinity of their barracks, which formed a long building, dividing the courts immediately before the palace from the Place de Carrousel. Another body of devoted adherents occupied the Pont Tournant. Mandat, the commander of the national guards, who was in the interest of the court, had placed several strong detachments of these forces and of the Parisian militia both in the garden of the Tuileries, before the colonnade of the Louvre, on the Pont Neuf, and in other places. A body of about a thousand gendarmerie on horseback were drawn up in the neighbourhood of the Place de Carrousel. Finally, about six or eight hundred gentlemen, consisting principally of noblesse and former officers of the army, were posted in the interior of the palace ; but this band of volunteers, unfortunately—forming

along with the Swiss and those who were stationed at the Pont Tournant, the only portion of the assembled troops whose fidelity was to be much depended upon—having only collected in haste after the disturbances were begun, had come very insufficiently armed, and were on that account of comparatively little use.

Meanwhile, the managers of the insurrection had already commenced operations by an act of extraordinary energy and boldness. Soon after midnight about two hundred persons, professing to have been elected by the sections, appeared at the Hôtel de Ville, where the Commune was sitting at the time, turned out all the members, with the exception of Petion, Manuel, and Danton; and, seizing upon their places, began immediately to exercise the functions of the municipality. So soon were the theorising Girondists over-mastered by the working politicians—the men of personal prowess and activity—whom, for the purpose of the moment, they had taken as their allies, and doubtless thought to use simply as instruments and servants, so long as they should have occasion for them! The moment the conspiracy had fairly broken out, it was all over with the merely writing and speechifying agitators. This usurpation of the municipal authority may be regarded as the first distinct apparition of that mob faction, which was henceforth in France for so long a season to be lord of the ascendant. The new council, as we have said, immediately proceeded to exercise its functions. Petion, although not deposed from the mayoralty, was sent off, under the protection of a guard of honour, to his own house, that he might have an apology for not interfering to put down the coming tumult,—and in place of so comparatively feeble a spirit, Huguenin, one of the most conspicuous among the ruffians of the 20th of June,

was appointed provisional president of the municipality. A message was next sent to General Mandat, commanding him to come immediately to the town-house—where, when he presented himself, not a little confounded at the changed appearance of the council, he was accused of treason to the people, and, being ordered on that charge to the Abbey, was shot through the head as he was leaving the room, and his body thrown into the Seine.

The removal of Mandat was a master-stroke of the conspirators. It disorganised all the arrangements which had been made for the defence of the palace. The national guards, which he commanded, though by no means universally well affected to the cause for which they were brought out to fight, would yet probably, combined and directed by him, have been found a sufficient protection against the mob. But of the detachments which he had posted at different stations, some were now withdrawn by orders sent from the new Commune, and which they believed to emanate from him, while others, and particularly those who occupied the garden and other places in the vicinity of the Tuileries, astonished at his continued absence, for which they were altogether unable to account, were first, as was not unnatural in such extraordinary circumstances, perplexed as to what they ought to do, and eventually induced to espouse the side of the insurgents.

The popular forces, composed of the *Fédérés* from Marseilles and Bretagne, and numerous bands of citizens from the Faubourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marcel, began to move slowly towards the Tuileries from the different points where they had assembled, about three o'clock in the morning. The Marseillaise were the first who arrived; and they immediately formed in order for battle in the Place du Carrousel, directly in front of the palace. Here they

were soon after joined by their auxiliaries, the Bretons and the people of the Faubourg St. Antoine, who drew up behind them. Those from the Faubourg St. Marcel, proceeding along the terrace des Feuillans, entered and took up their station in the garden ; on which the greater part of the gendarmes and national guards, who had been posted there, retired amid cries of *Vive la nation !* and falling back on the Petit Carrousel, ranged themselves on the side of the assailants. It was now about six o'clock. Immediately before this, the king, accompanied by the queen and his sister, none of them having gone to bed, had come down to the garden to review the troops, and had seen enough to satisfy him of the little dependence to be placed on such defenders. Some of the artillery company approaching his majesty's person, shook their fists in his face, and insulted him by the grossest language. The only salutation from any portion of the forces was *Vive la Nation*—no one seconding the cortege who were with his majesty in their attempt to raise the cry of *Vive le Roi*. Louis walked as far as the Pont Tournant at the farther extremity of the garden, which, as we have stated, was occupied by a body of troops devoted to the court. The disposition in which he found this post was calculated somewhat to restore his hopes ; but on his way back he was assailed by cries of *Down with the veto ! Down with the traitor !*—and as soon as he re-entered the palace he ordered that the principal door should be barricaded.

While matters were in this state, Dejoly, the Minister of Justice, presented himself in the Assembly, and entreated that some measures should be adopted for the protection of the king. On this it was proposed by some members that a deputation should be sent to the palace ; but this motion was rejected, and nothing was done. Dejoly then re-

turned to the Tuileries, where he found their majesties, with the rest of the royal family, and the other ministers, assembled in the king's closet. Here they all remained till near eight o'clock, when a municipal officer presented himself in the room, and announced that forces were moving in columns upon the palace from all quarters. Immediately after M. Roederer, the procurator of the department, entered and stated that the attack was just about to begin; that the greater part of the national guards had joined the people; and that the forces still remaining steady were quite insufficient to defend the building. He urged his majesty, therefore, that without an instant's delay he should take the only step which could save himself and his family from being massacred, and seek refuge with the queen and his children in the National Assembly. The queen at first shrunk indignantly from this humiliation. She would rather, she exclaimed, be nailed to the walls of the palace; and, offering arms to the king, she implored him to put himself at the head of his friends, and at least, if it must be so, to lose his crown and his life together. But, on being reminded of her children, whose only chance of safety she was destroying, she said, heaving a profound sigh, "It is the last sacrifice—let it be made;" and offered no farther resistance. The whole party, consisting of the royal family, the ministers, and several gentlemen belonging to the court, then left the palace by the gate opening on the garden, and proceeded directly across the parterre to the hall of the Assembly. They were escorted by a battalion composed of Swiss and grenadiers of the national guard, who, forming into a hollow square around them, conducted them in safety, and without encountering any interruption, till they arrived at the steps leading up to the Terrace des Feuillans. Here a formidable mob, assembled

on the terrace, announced in the most furious language their determination to prevent them from advancing farther. This multitude was headed by a man of the name of Rocher, of colossal stature and ferocious aspect, dressed in a military habit, and holding a naked sword in his hand. It was in vain that M. Roederer begged them to respect the constitution and the laws. His voice was drowned in their tumultuous clamour and menaces, which were directed, against the queen especially, with fiendish vehemence. In the mean time, however, the Assembly being informed that the royal family had left the palace, had at last thought fit to send a deputation to meet them, in obedience to an express article of the constitution, which provided that the king should always be so conducted when he proposed to come to their hall. M. Paganel, one of the members of this deputation, coming up to Rocher, addressed him earnestly in the name of the Assembly on the disgrace which would attach to a violation of the laws committed by the people at the very door of the legislative chamber, and happily succeeded in making an impression upon him by this appeal. Placing himself before the king, the mob-chieftain now commanded his followers to give way; and then, lifting up the young dauphin and seating him on his shoulders, he proceeded to lead the party forward through the opening which was immediately made for them. The queen could not repress a scream of alarm when he laid hold of the child. "Do not be afraid," said Rocher, "I will do him no harm;" and entering the Assembly with his burthen, he walked up to the president, and placed the boy on the table before that officer. The king also at first took his place beside the president; but it being objected that his presence in the body of the chamber would prevent the Assembly from

continuing its deliberations, he rose and seated himself with the rest of his family on a bench usually occupied by the ministers. He was then informed that, for the same reason, he could not remain there; on which he offered to take his place at the bar, or at one of the extremities of the hall. The Assembly then deigned to direct that he and his family should be accommodated in a box situated behind the president's chair, belonging to the reporters for the journal called the *Logographe*. Into this box, accordingly, which was about twelve feet in length, and separated from the body of the hall by small iron bars, the unfortunate family entered and took their seats.

The departure of the king was followed at the palace by scenes of the most terrible description. Both the troops who still remained to defend the building, and their assailants, had been generally, it would seem, left in ignorance that the royal family had gone to the Assembly; although Louis declared that he had given orders before his departure that no further resistance should be offered to the entry of the people. In the confusion of the moment these orders had not been intimated to the soldiers. About nine o'clock, the Marseillaise and Bretons advanced to the charge, and forced their way, with irresistible impetuosity, from the Place du Carrousel into the Cour des Princes, the largest of the several courts into which the space immediately before the Tuileries was then divided. It would appear that at this crisis the Swiss, now almost the only troops who remained to defend the palace, and who were stationed principally at the windows and at the top of the great staircase, manifested some disposition to capitulate with their assailants; feeling probably that there hardly remained any chance of making a successful resistance to the multitudes by which the

place was now on all sides attacked. But the reconciliation which seemed about to take place between the two parties, in anticipation of which the great body of the assailants had already halted and come to a parley, was the next moment suddenly broken off by a few individuals of the mob, who, advancing to the foot of the staircase, pulled down successively about half a dozen of the Swiss, who stood on the steps, by thrusting their long pikes into their clothes, and then took from them their arms amid shouts of laughter. The rest of the crowd, thus excited, immediately rushed forward; and the six disarmed captives were instantly massacred. On this the Swiss, both at the windows and on the staircase, burning to avenge their companions, put their muskets to their shoulders, and showered down a thick and fearfully destructive fire, both on the besiegers who filled the Cour des Princes, and on the advanced portion of them who were already ascending the stairs. The effect was to clear the court in an instant of all except the dead and the wounded. A small party of the Swiss, consisting of a hundred and twenty men, now advanced across the court to the Place du Carrousel, and again fired upon the flying multitude. At this moment, however, a messenger arrived from the Assembly, bringing an order from the king that all resistance should cease; on which the whole party suffered themselves quietly to be conducted to the guard-house at the Feuillans, and there laid down their arms. Just before this, also, the guard which defended the Pont Tournant had succeeded in repulsing an armed mob of about ten thousand persons by a well-directed volley of musquetry.

But on the retirement of the party of Swiss from the Carrousel, the assailants were not long in returning to the attack. Dr. Moore, who was living in the

Hôtel de Moscovie, in the Faubourg St. Germain, and who had before been awakened about two in the morning by the sound of the tocsin, gives us an interesting picture of the state of Paris in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries at this moment. "Having fallen asleep," he says, "about three, we were awakened at nine by the firing of cannon, and were told that the chateau was attacked. Soon after, we heard the cry of 'To arms, citizens, to arms! they slaughter your parents, your brethren, your sons!' and we saw men running half frantic through the streets, exclaiming in that manner.—As soon as I was dressed I went into the streets; a party of the national guards, with a number of citizens armed, were marching towards the Tuileries—another body of men followed soon after, dragging several cannons along the Quai Mazarin, where I was, to the Pont Royal. Some men, flying from the Tuileries along this bridge, were killed by the national guards before they reached that end to which the cannon were advancing. Those cannon, being mounted on the bridge, were repeatedly discharged against that part of the chateau which looks to the Seine. Some women, who stood near me on the Quai de Voltaire, as soon as they heard the first discharge, clapped their hands, and cried, Bravo! Bravo!—In the mean time there was some firing of musquetry from the windows of the Louvre facing the river; a few people were killed and wounded on the quays. Those who were on the side next the Louvre had run from the quay to the bank of the river, that they might be sheltered from the shot by the parapet. A party of national guards who marched along the Quai Mazarin, as often as they saw a group of people conversing together, called *Bas les motions**, and dispersed

* No motions.—The questions moved and debated in clubs respecting the measures of government are called motions.

them—the officer at the same time advising all who were without arms to retire to their houses. A little after, as a body of pikemen hurried past, one of them in a very decisive style pointed me out as an aristocrat. Such an accusation in the streets of Paris, any time these four years, would have exposed a man to insult: in the present circumstances, when execution is generally the immediate consequence of accusation, it might have proved fatal; but the valet de place, who accompanied me, declared that, so far from being an aristocrat, or anything like it, I was un Anglais. ‘Bon,’ cried the pikemen, and continued their course. After this admonition I retired to the house of an acquaintance, in the Rue Jacob, from whence I went, a little after, to the Hôtel de Moscovie. In the streets I met with great numbers of the national guards and *fédérés* returning home, all of them with pieces of the red uniform of the Swiss guards who had been killed, stuck as trophies on the point of their bayonets.”

By this time the besiegers of the palace were triumphant at all points. The Marseillaise and the rest of the multitude who had been driven back by the fire of the Swiss from the Place du Carrousel had almost immediately returned to their ground; while numerous bands of others had penetrated at the same time from various quarters into the garden, and commenced a vigorous attack on that front of the building. Thus beleaguered on all sides, and played upon by cannon planted at the ends of all the adjacent streets, it was impossible that it could have held out long, even had its defenders been much more numerous and much better armed than they were. It is said that, even before the assailants had gained the interior, the five or six hundred gentlemen who were posted in the different apartments, made their escape precipitately through the gallery of the

Louvre, from which they afterwards came forth exclaiming *Vive la Nation* with all their might, many of them however being, notwithstanding, killed by the people. About eight hundred Swiss were now the only troops remaining in the palace. These brave men drew up immediately before the great staircase, to resist, as long as they could, the entry of the mob; but they were soon overpowered by the immense numbers of their assailants, who destroyed nearly the whole of them, and then poured into the palace, opposed by no other impediment but the heaped carcasses of the slain.

A general massacre now commenced of the numerous servants and other inmates of the royal dwelling, which lasted for two hours, from noon, namely, till two o'clock. To use the words of Barbaroux, one of the contrivers of the insurrection, and who was present at the head of a band of the Marseillaise, "They slew, in the rooms, on the roofs, in the cellars, the Swiss who were found either with or without arms, the chevaliers, the valets, all who inhabited the building." Barbaroux asserts, however, that it was not the *Fédérés* who were guilty of these enormities, but those of the rabble, who, as he expresses it, "having shewn themselves only cowardly fugitives during the action, became assassins after the victory, and even went about plunging their weapons in the bodies of the dead, that they might seem to have shared in the honours of the fight." These blood-thirsty savages at all events were found to be far too numerous for the less barbarously disposed part of the multitude to offer any effectual resistance to their proceedings. "Our devotedness," says Barbaroux, "could do nothing; we addressed ourselves to men who did not know us." In the midst of this promiscuous slaughter, however, the women were spared. Madame Campan, who was in the

Tuileries on this terrible day, has given us in her Memoirs a very graphic description of the several dreadful scenes of which she was a witness. In a room to which she had come in quest of her sister, who was also in the palace, she found two femmes de chambre and one of the two heiduques, as they were called, or Hungarian Guards of the queen. "I beheld," says she, "this man, of most imposing stature and martial countenance, pale and seated on a bed; I cried to him, *Save yourself, the valets de pied have already escaped. I cannot do it,* said the man to me, *I am dead with fear.* As he uttered these words, I heard a crowd rushing up the staircase; they threw themselves upon him, and I saw him murdered. I ran, followed by the two women, towards the staircase. The assassins quitted the heiduque to come to me. The two women threw themselves at their feet, and laid hold of their sabres. The narrowness of the staircase impeded the assassins; but I had already felt a terrible hand thrust itself into my back to seize me by my clothes, when they called out from the bottom of the staircase, *What are you doing above there?* The horrible Marseillaise who was about to massacre me, answered by a *hem*, which will never leave my memory. The other voice returned only these words; *They are not killing the women.* I was on my knees; but on this my executioner let me go, saying, *Get up, gipsy, the nation accords you pardon.*" She and the two women, she goes on to relate, were then seized by five or six men, who making them stand on benches placed before the windows, compelled them to call out, *Vive la Nation*—after which they were conducted to a place of safety.

The whole number of the Swiss who perished on this occasion was afterwards ascertained to be about seven hundred and sixty-six, of whom twenty-six

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were officers. These did not, however, all fall in the fight. A body of about sixty of them, who had escaped from the palace, took refuge in the buildings called *Les Petites Ecuries*, situated in the Place du Carrousel ; where being discovered by some of the *Fédérés*, they were conducted to the Hôtel de Ville, and regularly delivered over to the criminal tribunal which was sitting there. But while they were waiting for it to be determined in what prison they should be confined till they could be tried, the mob broke through the ranks of the national guards who were stationed to protect them, and, forcing them one after the other to descend the stair to the court before the building, cut the throat of each as he came down.

This happened about half-past one o'clock. By two the fury of the murderers had spent itself, and the chief scene of their exploits might be approached with safety. Dr. Moore went next morning to see the places where the action had happened. "The naked bodies of the Swiss," he says, "for they were already stripped, lay exposed on the ground. I saw a great number on the terrace, immediately before the palace of the Tuileries ; some lying single in different parts of the gardens ; and some in heaps, one above another, particularly near the terrace of the Feuillans. The garden and adjacent courts were crowded with spectators, among whom there was a considerable portion of women, whose curiosity, it was evident, was at least equal to their modesty. The bodies of the national guards, of the citizens of the Faubourgs, and of the *Fédérés*, have been already removed by their friends ; those of the Swiss only lie exposed in this shocking manner." "Seeing a number of people going up the grand staircase of the palace," he continues, "to view the ravage that was made in all the rooms by the action of yesterday,

I intermingled with the crowd, and had ascended half way, when I heard the shrieks of some one above; and soon after the body of a man was carried down. I was told that he had been detected in the act of stealing some of the furniture belonging to the palace, and was instantly put to death by the people around him." This expeditious method of executing justice, the Doctor adds, removed all his desire of visiting the royal apartments. He descended again to the terrace, and afterwards walked through the centre gate of the palace into the court and the Carrousel. Here he found the bodies of the Swiss lying in various parts of the area. Their barracks, which had been set on fire the day before, were still burning. "Many of the bodies," he adds, "were thrown into the flames; I saw some half consumed."

But the fullest and most minutely particular picture that has been given of the state of the Tuileries and the neighbourhood immediately after this bloody day, is that contained in the narrative of a person belonging to the bureau of one of the sections, who visited the scene officially at a late hour the same night, which has recently been published for the first time by M. Dulaure, in his *Exquisses Historiques*. After mentioning that he had armed himself with a pike, and was accompanied by a patrol of fifty men, which was afterwards joined by another of the same strength, the writer thus proceeds: "Scarcely had we entered the Place du Carrousel, when our eyes were met by a strange and horrible sight. It was then near midnight. On our right lay, in so many different places of the square, four or five heaps, each about twenty feet in height, composed of dead bodies entirely naked. In the centre of the court was an immense fire; around which stood two or three men, who appeared to us immoveable and insensible in the midst of these numerous and de-

plorable results of the carnage. On our left, where an iron railing has now been fixed, a long building, consisting of two stories, which formerly separated the Place du Carrousel from the courts of the Tuileries, and in which the Swiss had their barracks, was a prey to the flames. Over this scene of conflagration and carcasses, reigned a silence disturbed only by the noise of our slow march and by that of the floors and beams, which, breaking from the walls, were ever and anon tumbling down, and each time making the flames burst forth in torrents through the windows. In order to get to the court of the palace we had to pass under this blazing structure. The two folding halves of the wooden door were reduced to the state of burning charcoal, and their heat made us double our rate of march as we passed through. After arriving in the court, we were detained there for a considerable time, in consequence of the guards who had been newly placed in the palace refusing at first to admit our double patrol. This delay afforded us leisure to observe the frightful scenes by which we were surrounded. The flames of a great fire which was kindled also in the centre of this court, and those rising from the burning barracks, lighted up a dismal scene. Here lay heaps of corpses; there, dispersed along the pavement, other dead bodies mixed with those which were yet alive, but asleep from drunkenness. The living were to be distinguished from the dead only by not being stripped of their clothes. We saw in the midst of the fire several bodies half consumed; and the odour which exhaled from this combustion of human flesh added to the horror felt at the sight. Turning away our eyes from these objects, and directing them towards the palace, we perceived, through the vestibule, a number of wandering lights in the garden, resembling those igneous

meteors which are wont to rise and move about, during hot nights, above marshy grounds. At last we were allowed to penetrate under the vestibule, where we found that these wandering fires were lighted candles, which we had perceived in the darkness without seeing those who carried them. These were persons, whom the guards stationed in the palace had refused to permit to enter it, but who were still endeavouring to find for themselves some way of access. It was this which occasioned the moving of the lights backward and forward. We understood that their design was to penetrate into the obscure places of the building, and then to employ themselves in pillage. After getting under the vestibule we were again detained for a long and painful space, at the foot of the stair leading to the chapel and the private apartments. The intervals on both sides of this staircase between the balustrades and the walls were filled up with naked carcasses."

The narrator goes on to state that, after visiting the chapel, he and those who were with him next went, about half past one, to the Assembly to give information of what they had seen. They afterwards returned to the palace, accompanied by one of the deputies, and proceeded to inspect the front next the garden. "The base of this front," continues the writer, "was entirely bordered with dead bodies. In the darkness, in spite of our utmost care, it was extremely difficult to avoid striking one's foot against some corpse, or treading upon a separated limb."

During the whole of this memorable day the Assembly had continued sitting. We have already related the reception which the king and his family met with, when they made their appearance in the legislative chamber about nine o'clock in the morning. While the attack upon the palace was going on, several of the balls entered the windows and struck

the roof of the room. A few deputies at first changed their seats; but, on the president calling to order, and observing that it was the duty of each to remain with steadiness at his post, the whole body of the members rose at once, and with exclamations of *Liberty and Equality for ever!* swore to die where they stood, if necessary, for the salvation of their country; after which no one stirred from his place. Some time after, numbers of persons entered the hall, bringing with them jewels, money, and papers, which they had found in the palace, and now came of their own accord to deliver to the Assembly. So strangely was the ferocity of these men mixed up with, without being refined or mitigated by, the most disinterested patriotism. It was a time of tempestuous excitement, during which only the greater passions could operate; and the narrow views and feelings of an ordinary selfishness were as completely extinguished as were the heart's every-day sentiments of humanity and tenderness. In the course of the day the Assembly passed a decree appointing the convocation of a National Convention, and the suspension of the king till that new legislative body should have determined the measures necessary for ensuring the independence of the nation. The present ministers were also declared to have lost the public confidence; and another cabinet, in which Roland and Danton held principal places, was nominated in their room. The sitting did not break up till three o'clock on the morning of the 11th; and then only to be resumed at nine. On that day, it was ordered that all the royal statues in Paris and throughout France should be thrown down; a decree which, in the capital at least, the multitude lost no time in carrying into execution. The different statues of Henry IV., of Louis XIII., Louis XIV., and Louis XV. all disappeared in the course of the

day. By order of the municipality also the busts of Louis XVI., of Bailly, of Necker, and of Lafayette, were removed from the town-house. During the whole day the town continued in great confusion. The drum had beat to arms in the morning, and the shops in the principal streets were immediately shut.

A considerable number of the Swiss who had been saved from the massacre had been lodged, along with the party who, as already related, were removed at the beginning of the attack from the Carrousel, in the corps de garde at the Feuillans ; and the mob to-day assembled before this building, demanding with vehement outcries that the prisoners whom it contained should be delivered up to them, that they might take their lives. It was thought best in these circumstances by those who had the Swiss in charge, to conduct them to the Assembly. Dr. Moore was then standing at the door which formed the entrance to the Assembly from the garden of the Feuillans when the procession came up. "It consisted," he says, "of a number of persons, some in the uniform of the national guards, and some in the dress of citizens, each of whom held a man in a white waistcoat, and without a coat, by the hand. The latter were generally pale and dejected ; and the men under whose protection they were, encouraged and supported them." On being brought into the hall they were placed at the bar ; and one of them addressed the Assembly, imploring its protection. The members were evidently inclined to save them ; but for a long time many of the people in the galleries continued to exclaim violently that they ought to be put to death. After some hours, however, during which the speeches of several deputies, addressed in some cases directly to this sanguinary and domineering mob, had produced but little effect, a number of the Marseillèse presented themselves at the bar, and

declared that they would escort the Swiss to a place of safety. Under this protection they were immediately conveyed to the Hôtel de Bourbon, where they were detained till they could be set at liberty without danger of being thereby exposed to popular violence. The rabble had already put to death many of the porters stationed at the doors of houses, and generally called Swiss, although in fact most of them were Frenchmen.

Dr. Moore was present in the Assembly while those prisoners stood at the bar, having entered a little before them, and got a seat in the body of the house among the members. During the interval which elapsed until they made their appearance, his attention was engaged by the royal family, who still continued to occupy the box in which they had been placed the day before. "The king, queen, with their son and daughter," he says, "and the Princess Elizabeth, the Princess Lamballe, and three or four other attendants, had remained in the Loge du Logographe, yesterday, from nine in the morning till late at night. They had been then conducted to an adjacent committee-room, where they had remained all night, and returned to the same loge in the morning, when the Assembly met. My eyes were naturally directed to the box in which they were. From the place in which I sat, I could not see the king; but I had a full view of the queen and the rest of the royal family. Her beauty is gone! No wonder. She seemed to listen with an undisturbed air to the speakers. Sometimes she whispered to her sister-in-law, and to Madame de Lamballe; once or twice she stood up, and, leaning forward, surveyed every part of the hall. A person near me remarked, that her face indicated rage and the most provoking arrogance. I perceived nothing of that nature; although the turn of the debate, as well as the remarks which were made

by some of the members, must have appeared to her highly insolent and provoking. On the whole, her behaviour in this trying situation seemed full of propriety and dignified composure." On this evening and that of the day following, he afterwards states, their majesties left the hall at about nine or ten at night. There was a small closet behind the loge, into which they retired occasionally to take what refreshments they needed. "On the 10th," continues this writer, "the king took nothing but a little biscuit and a glass of lemonade; the queen, nothing but a basin of soup. On the subsequent days they had their dinner from a neighbouring traiteur, which was served in the same little closet. Their sole occupation, during all this time, was hearing the debates of the Assembly. This would probably have been a severe punishment, although personal abuse had been abstained from; which, however, was not always the case. One member (Chabot, formerly a Capuchin friar) in the midst of his harangue, said, that all the bloodshed of that day, and all the miseries of the country, were owing to the perjury and treason of that traitor—pointing to the king." While the noise of the attack on the palace resounded through the hall, on the morning of the 10th, the situation of their majesties was particularly painful. "At one time," says Dr. Moore, "there was such a noise and bustle in the passage, immediately behind the two small rooms in which the royal family were, that their attendants became apprehensive that some ruffians were about to break in and offer them violence; and therefore they endeavoured to wrench out the iron bars which separated the box from the hall of the Assembly, that the royal family might throw themselves into the hall, if necessary: the bars were not removed till the king himself assisted, and by repeated efforts at last forced the bars out."

The decree of the Assembly on the 10th, with regard to the future residence of the king and his family, had been, that an apartment should be prepared for them at the Luxembourg. On the 12th this resolution was repealed; and it was ordered that they should be lodged at the house of Danton, now Minister of Justice, in the Place Vendôme, where his majesty was to have a guard to protect him, and an allowance of half a million of francs, for the expenses of his establishment, till the Convention should meet. But after this decree had been passed, a deputation from the Commune appeared at the bar, and demanded that the royal family should be sent to the Temple, and detained there under the charge of a guard of twenty men, to be furnished by the Sections. On this proposal being made, the Assembly ventured to reply that they had just passed a resolution for the removal of their majesties to the house of the Minister of Justice. But the orator of the Commune was not to be thus answered; he reiterated his proposition; and the compliant representatives adopted it without further discussion. On the following day, accordingly, the king and his family were transferred to the prison thus appointed for them by the sovereign municipality.

These extraordinary events did not seem, when they were over, to have left any very deep impression on the general population of Paris. "The public walks," says Dr. Moore, writing on the 13th, "are crowded with men, women, and children of all conditions, with the most gay unconcerned countenances imaginable. A stranger just come to Paris, without having heard of the late transactions, and walking through the gardens of the Tuileries, Place de Louis XV., and Champs Elysées, would naturally imagine, from the frisky behaviour and cheerful faces of the company he meets, that this day was a con-

tinuation of a series of days appointed for dissipation, mirth, and enjoyment ; he could not possibly imagine that the ground he is walking over was so lately covered with the bodies of slaughtered men ; or that the gay lively people he saw were so lately overwhelmed with sorrow and dismay. I drove to many places in Paris this morning. The epithet *royal*, which was formerly so profusely assumed, and inscribed with pride and ostentation, is now carefully effaced from every shop, magazine, auberge, or hotel ; all those also who were so vain of announcing over their doors that they were the tradesmen of the king or queen, or in any way employed by them, have removed every word, emblem, or sign, which could revive the remembrance of such a connection ; and at present a tailor would rather advertise that he was breeches-maker to a sans-culotte, than to a prince of the blood royal."

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE TUILERIES DURING THE REVOLUTION
OF 1789,—CONCLUDED.

Meeting of [the Convention—Discovery of the Iron Chest—Trial of Louis XVI.—Tumult on 1st May, 1793—Insurrections of 31st May and 2d June—Fête de l'Être Suprême—Journée du 12 Germinal—Journée du 1 Prairial—Journée du 13 Vendémiaire—Revolution of the 18th Fructidor.

It was in the palace of the Tuileries that the Convention, on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of September, held its three preliminary sittings, for the verification of the powers of the members. On the last of these days the members of the Legislative Assembly, after closing their session, repaired in a body to the room where their successors had met, when harangues, full of compliment and congratulation, were pronounced by the two presidents. The whole of the deputies then left the palace, two by two, and proceeded to the usual place of sitting. It was on this occasion that the Duke of Orleans, or, as he now called himself, the Citizen *Egalité*, to shew how deserving he was of his new name, took the arm of Armonville, a brother member of the Convention, who was distinguished by nothing except his pertinacity in wearing the red cap, the favourite badge of *sans-culotte* patriotism.

Much of the time of the Convention, for the first three months of its existence, was occupied with the subject of the king's trial. While this matter was under discussion, about the middle of November one of a number of workmen, who had been employed

to execute certain repairs in the Tuileries, discovered an iron press or chest concealed in the wall of one of the rooms; which being opened by order of the Minister of the Interior, was found to contain a quantity of papers relating to the events of the Revolution. Upon a closer inspection of these manuscripts, several of them turned out to refer to certain projects of the royalists for restoring the king's authority, and even to intrigues which had been entered into for that purpose by the court with some of the most eminent of the popular leaders. These were the documents which were conceived to contain the proofs of Mirabeau's treachery to the cause of the Revolution. But, as already mentioned, the genuineness of all of them has been much questioned. The persons by whom they were produced were certainly not very scrupulous with regard to the means they employed to bring about what they regarded as a desirable end; and to ensure their great object, the destruction of the monarchy, they probably would not have had much more hesitation in forging papers than they had already had in stirring up, to the overthrow of all law and order, the sanguinary, desolating, and ungovernable fury of mobs.

Certain it is, at all events, that the discovery and publication of the contents of this iron chest had a most powerful effect in precipitating the fate of the king. The incident was well calculated both to array against the unfortunate Louis those of his intended judges who were still lukewarm or disposed to doubt his guilt, and to give an impulse to the popular indignation which made it dangerous even for his friends to attempt longer to oppose its torrent. The business of bringing him to trial and to the block was now a smooth and easy one. On the 11th of December he was called for the first time to the

bar of the Convention, where he made his appearance about two o'clock in the afternoon. Having been permitted to place himself in a chair, he was asked a succession of questions by the president, all of which he answered with precision and composure. The papers found in the iron chest, and the others on which the accusations against him were founded, were then put one by one into his hands, and he was asked with regard to each, if he acknowledged it? He disavowed many of them. This examination lasted for three hours. "On the day," says M. Beaulieu*, "when Louis XVI. was conducted to the Convention for the first time, they had carried him from his prison in such a hurry that he had had no time to take anything. On arriving he requested a morsel of bread, which he ate before entering the hall. Barrère, who presided, sat opposite to him on a kind of throne, from which he beheld his king at his feet. He interrogated him in a tone of rudeness and arrogance, which contrasted with the modesty and simplicity of the august victim. -He who writes these lines witnessed this deplorable scene; and during twenty-seven years it has not been effaced from his memory; he yet beholds the unhappy prince standing on the floor, in the most simple attitude and costume, but without losing anything of his dignity; he beholds Valazé, the reporter of the committee, seated before a table, contemptuously handing to him the documents belonging to the process over his shoulder, and receiving them back in the same manner without ever once turning round his head."

On the 26th Louis again appeared at the bar, accompanied by his counsel, MM. de Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Desèze, to make his defence. On entering the hall at eight o'clock in the morning, those deputies who were suspected of being favour-

* Biographie Universelle, xxv. 231.

ably disposed to the accused, were insulted by the people. The galleries also were found to be filled by persons who had remained there all night, notwithstanding a decree which had been passed the preceding evening to clear the house. After they were again met, a member proposed to have the decree still carried into effect—but upon this motion the Convention passed to the order of the day. The king arrived about half-past nine. On being called upon for his defence, he pointed to his counsel—and M. Desèze rose, and addressed the Assembly in a speech distinguished by its eloquence and fearlessness. On its conclusion Louis retired. A very stormy debate then took place. The more violent members demanded that judgment should be passed immediately, and enforced their proposition both by speeches and by the most furious and affrighting outcries. In this, however, they did not prevail, the discussion being at last adjourned to the day following. It was continued in fact for several days; nor was it till the 15th of January—all the intervening time having been occupied in debate upon the subject—that a vote was come to upon the question, *Was Louis guilty or not?* On this question all the six hundred and ninety-three members who were present voted in the affirmative. On the 17th the votes were taken as to the punishment to be inflicted on the condemned monarch. There were seven hundred and forty-nine members of the Convention in all; of whom twenty-eight were at this time absent. There remained therefore seven hundred and twenty-one to give their votes. Of these three hundred and sixty-one—exactly one more than half of the whole number—voted for death simply; but twenty-six others also gave their suffrages in favour of the same punishment, only demanding that a farther discussion should take place as to whether it might not be for

the public interest to have the execution of the sentence deferred. The remaining members voted variously for death after a certain time—for confinement during life in irons—or for banishment either immediately or as soon as the war should be over ;—in favour of which last proposition there were two hundred and eighty-six votes. When it had been ascertained how the votes stood, the president declared that the punishment pronounced by the Convention against Louis Capet was that of death.

Some attempts were still made to save the unfortunate king. Immediately after the decision of the chamber was declared, his counsel appeared at the bar and demanded an appeal to the people. This claim however was rejected. On the 18th it was moved in the Convention to delay the execution of the sentence ; and the proposal gave rise to a violent discussion, which was eventually adjourned to the following day ; when a majority of three hundred and eighty to two hundred and eighty-seven decided against it. On the 20th Louis addressed a written request to the Assembly that they would allow him three days to prepare for death ; but this petition was also refused. He was executed on the following day

The sentence passed on the king was a victory gained over the Girondists by the more violent part of the Convention. The Mountain, however, on this particular occasion, were powerfully aided by the demonstrations of support which they received from the populace—and owed to the threats and intimidation of their mobs a considerable number of votes which were not usually given to the measures which they proposed. So remarkable an evidence of the effect with which the species of force at their command might be brought to bear upon the Convention seems to have suggested to them the plan of attempting, by such means, the complete subju-

gation of that assembly. In the course of the next three or four months, accordingly, the legislative body was subjected to various attacks, or threats of attack, by the rabble of the Faubourgs. One of the most memorable of the days thus distinguished was the 1st of May, when a mob of about two hundred women from Versailles first presented themselves at the bar—and then other forty individuals, who said they were deputed by the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Antoine, eight thousand of whom were collected outside. The Convention was now sitting in the palace of the Tuileries. These petitioners, as they called themselves, brought banners announcing their demands forward with them into the hall; and their leader also read an address, which was intended, he said, to tell the Assembly some stern truths (*des vérités dures*). “The republicans,” it went on to state, “do not know how to govern. What have you done since you met? It is long since you promised to fix a maximum of price for all commodities;—but you are always making promises, which you never keep.” After going on in this style for a considerable time the orator concluded by informing his patient auditors, that, if his demands were not to be immediately acceded to, he and his followers declared themselves in a state of insurrection. The Convention, however, was this time helped for the moment out of its perils by the arrival, after some space, of another body of persons from the same Faubourg St. Antoine, who disavowed any participation in the violent petition of their predecessors, and were willing, they said, to defend the legislature with their lives.

But the influence and power of the party which still maintained a majority in the Convention, were evidently sinking every day, and the numbers of their yet remaining friends among the people dimi-

nished very rapidly. It must be confessed that in the difficult circumstances in which they were placed they did not act with much energy. They were now in truth reaping the whirlwind which they had themselves sown. The passions of the populace, which they had set the example of employing to terrify and control the legislature, were now under the management of their opponents, by whom that formidable agency was certainly not directed with less either of courage or of remorseless purpose than had been shewn by those who had first taught them the use that might be made of it. Till near the end of May there were no farther actual commotions; but the preparations for a new and decisive attack upon the Convention were made with an openness that took from them all pretensions to the name of a plot or conspiracy, in the usual application of these terms. The only means to which the Convention resorted in order to protect itself from this danger, was to command the arrest of some of the individuals known to be principally engaged in organising the intended insurrection; but the persons thus seized were only apprehended to be again in a few days set at liberty, on the demand of their associates. The executive authorities at length gave up, in many cases, making any attempt to enforce the decrees of the legislature at all.

Such a state of things could not last. On the 27th of May a mob of female furies, about fifteen hundred in number, after scouring several of the streets, assembled around the legislative chamber, but retired after a time without perpetrating any actual mischief. These petticoat politicians were headed by one of their own sex, a woman named Léon; and the circumstance of there being no men among them gave occasion to its being said that anarchy *était tombée en quenouille*, had fallen to be inherited by the dis-

taff, as it may be translated. On the following day, the debate in the Convention was one of unprecedented violence. The Mountain did not even confine themselves to their usual practice of roaring down their opponents, in which they were powerfully aided by the accompanying voices of the people in the galleries. One of them, the notorious Legendre, the butcher, actually laid another member, who persisted in attempting to make himself heard, prostrate on the floor, by dealing him a blow on the breast with his clenched fist. Several times, when they came to vote, many of the people rushed into the body of the chamber, and gave their suffrages along with the deputies. It was a scene of continued uproar and outrage upon all the forms of law. The day following it was no better. When a member proposed that the proceedings of the previous sitting should be annulled, as having been carried by false votes and under the dictation of a mob, Legendre started from his seat, and called out that if the speaker continued his address he would advance to the rostrum and throw him down headlong.

But the 31st was the day on which the insurrection actually broke out. On that morning, at five o'clock, the tocsin sounded from every steeple in Paris, and in all the streets the drum beat to arms. Armed multitudes were speedily collected in various quarters. The alarmed deputies, roused from their sleep by the tumult, flew to their place of meeting, and the Convention opened at six. The debate, as usual, was a tempest of clamour and all manner of confusion. A crowd at length appeared at the bar, one of whom, addressing the Assembly, demanded the heads of a number of the members whom he named, and also that the working classes should be paid, each man, forty sous a day while they continued under arms. The latter of these atrocious propositions was actually

put to the vote, and the decision of the Convention obtained in its favour—many of the people, it is said, mixing among, and giving their suffrages along with the deputies. Contented with this partial victory for the present, the leaders of the mob deferred pressing their further demands till another occasion, which, however, they were not long in seizing.

At eleven o'clock on the morning of the 2d of June, the tocsin again sounded, and the drum beat the *générale*. In a short time a mob of infuriated women had collected around the entrance to the hall of the Convention, by whom every member, as he approached, was subjected to abuse and outrage. Multitudes of men, armed with sticks and pikes, and afterwards several bands of military, gradually arrived to augment the throng; till at last it might be said to have grown to an immense army. The Tuileries was that day besieged by a force of full eighty thousand persons, almost all of whom bore arms of some description or other, while several of the columns were provided with artillery, which they pointed against the palace, or planted at the different entrances to the courts and the garden. The Convention had opened at ten o'clock; but the members, when they had assembled, found themselves imprisoned within their hall. If any one attempted to go forth, he was met at the door by pointed bayonets, and driven back—often with blows. Some had their clothes nearly torn off them by the rabble. Even those who ventured to look out at any of the windows, were immediately warned to withdraw themselves by muskets being levelled at them. When the unfortunate representatives found the state in which they were, a violent debate arose. Lanjuinais, one of the twenty-five Girondist leaders whose heads had been demanded by the populace, mounting the tribune, denounced, with vehement eloquence, the ultra-

democratical party who had instigated these terrible excesses. "Legislators!" he exclaimed, "the truth is no longer to be disguised: another authority has usurped your functions; you are now invested by its hired bands." The members of the Mountain here endeavoured to drown the voice of the orator by their shouts; but, in spite of the interruption, he continued to make himself be heard while he pursued his delineation of the anarchy that had overwhelmed the country, and the humiliation of the legislature, now reduced merely to a tribunal for registering the orders of the tyrannic multitude. After a short time, however, the outcries of the Mountain arose again with redoubled fury. For a while Lanjuinais bore the torrent of abuse that fell upon him without quailing. At last Legendre sprung up into the tribune; and placing himself by his side, not only assailed him with the most passionate reproaches, but aimed a rapid succession of blows at his head with his clenched fist, which the other only avoided by leaning as far as he could over the edge of the desk. Meanwhile several other members, each of whom wished to address the Assembly, were struggling with one another at the bottom of the steps for precedence in mounting them. It was a considerable time before the utmost exertions of the president succeeded in quieting this tumult.

Soon after, a deputation from the mob appeared at the bar. These persons repeated, once more, the demand which had already been several times urged during the last few days—that a number of the deputies whom they named should be surrendered to them, or, as it was phrased, placed under arrest. To elude, if possible, the well-understood aim of the authors of this proposal, it was moved by one member that the obnoxious deputies should voluntarily resign the powers with which they were invested into the

hands of the nation, which would then take them under its protection. Most of the individuals in question did not require much exhortation to induce them to make what was gravely called this *patriotic sacrifice*. Their ready acquiescence, however, in their own degradation was of little avail in saving them from a worse fate. Within a few months nearly all of them were brought to the guillotine.

The debate, after having continued for several hours, was at last terminated by Bazire, who, having ascended the tribune, exclaimed, "We lose our time; I demand that the Temple of the Laws be closed, and that we go forth into the midst of the people." No sooner were these words uttered than nearly the whole Assembly rose together, and, ranging themselves in pairs, began with bare heads to move towards the door of the chamber, the president walking first. He alone had his hat on, to mark in the most expressive manner possible the depth of the public calamity, in conformity with the custom which prevailed in the Assembly of that officer never covering himself except on the occurrence of the most extreme disorder. When the procession reached the place where the first guard was posted, the president commanded the soldiers to allow the national representatives to pass; and was obeyed. The whole number then descended into the court in front of the palace, when they had an opportunity of seeing something of the immense numbers and formidable preparations of their besiegers. They advanced through the midst of the multitude to the gate opening into the Place du Carrousel without opposition; but here they were met by a party of military, supported by several field-pieces, who evidenced no intention of permitting their passage. At first, on finding himself opposed, the president endeavoured to exert his authority, and even ordered the soldiers

to arrest their commander, who refused to allow him to proceed. But he soon found how little his commands were likely to be regarded in the present circumstances, and, indeed, how dangerous it was to persist in any such vain display of dignity; and therefore, after an angry parley of a few seconds which was just about to lead to a general attack on the defenceless deputies, he prudently turned from the gate, and advanced to another leading from the north side of the court. Here, however, all egress was equally refused. The procession then re-entered within the porch of the palace, and passing under the building, advanced into the garden, with the view of effecting a passage through some one of its gates. The first to which they repaired was that situated opposite to the Pont Royal. But from this they were at once repulsed. They then proceeded along the terrace on that side, and round by the western enclosure of the garden, till they came to the Pont Tournant. Here also they found a body of troops stationed, who resolutely refused to allow them to pass. It was to no purpose that the president addressed himself to the officers in command in a tone sometimes of authority and sometimes of entreaty. While he was speaking, and the assembled deputies stood awaiting the issue near the great basin, Marat suddenly issued from the adjoining thicket, attended by about fifty followers all in rags and of the most ruffian-like aspect, and, addressing himself to his brother legislators, exclaimed, with an accent of command, "Commissioners (*mandataires*) of the people! I summon you, in the name of the people, again to betake yourselves to your post and there to resume your functions." At these words the humbled representatives docilely turned round; and, taking their way along an alley formed of presented pikes and bayonets, at length re-entered the legis-

lative chamber. All the avenues which led to this apartment were immediately re-occupied by the besiegers, who having now, as they conceived, sufficiently convinced the members of how completely they were in their power, probably saw no good reason why any of them should again be permitted to leave their prison till they had complied with the terms proposed to them. As soon as they had once more taken their seats, Couthon, with matchless effrontery, rose and observed, that, from all they had just seen, the Assembly must at last be convinced that their deliberations were perfectly free! This sally was too much even for such an audience. Its author, however, followed it up by proposing that twenty-four of the Girondist Deputies, and the members of the Committee of Twelve, should be immediately put under arrest, in conformity to the popular demand. This motion, after a warm discussion, being put to the vote, was declared by the president to be carried in the affirmative. A majority of the members, it is asserted, did not vote at all upon the question. When the desired decree had been thus at last obtained, the Commune was pleased to give orders that the members should be allowed to take their departure. It was now past ten o'clock; and thus terminated a day which may be described as one of the most sorrowful in the annals of France, and the commencement, to that unhappy country, of a year of the most desolating tyranny that ever afflicted any portion of the human race. The succeeding fourteen months form the dark period of the domination of Robespierre.

After the abolition of royalty, the garden of the Tuileries received the name of the National Garden. It was here that the famous festival to the Supreme Being was celebrated on the 20th Prairial, or 8th of June, 1794. The day was serene and beautiful;

and at sunrise military music and the firing of cannon announced the coming solemnity. Bands of men, women, and children, from the different Sections, first repaired to the garden, the men bearing branches of oak, and the women bouquets of flowers in their hands; while along the streets through which they passed all the fronts of the houses were hung with blooming garlands, or tricolor banners and draperies. Soon after the different columns of the people had arranged themselves in the station appointed for them at a short distance from the palace, the members of the Convention came forth in procession from the central pavilion, preceded by a numerous band of musicians, and took their places in an elevated and spacious amphitheatre which had been erected against the palace wall. Robespierre, as president, then rose, and, mounting a rostrum or pulpit, delivered an address to the people in commendation of the new religion, the establishment of which as the national faith they had met together to celebrate. A symphony, performed by the several bands of musicians, followed this oration. When this was over, Robespierre, taking a lighted torch in his hand, descended from the amphitheatre, and advanced to a company of artificial figures representing Atheism, Ambition, Selfishness (*Egoisme*), Discord, and False Simplicity, which stood together in the centre of the circular basin of the parterre. Applying his torch to this allegorical group, he set it on fire, and in a short time all the figures disappeared in the blaze; when, as the cloud of smoke that succeeded gradually cleared away, there was seen emerging from it the bright and majestic image of Wisdom. After this spectacle Robespierre again harangued the people. The whole Assembly then marched in procession, with music playing and banners flying, to the *Champ de Mars*, or, as it was.

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then called, the *Champs de la Réunion*, where other ceremonies were performed and hymns chaunted. They afterwards returned to the Tuileries, in similar array. On this occasion Robespierre did not hesitate by his own demeanour to violate the etiquette of equality in a sufficiently marked manner. A violet coloured robe and a hat adorned with plumes distinguished him in the procession from the other deputies ; and, in taking his station at their head, he carefully placed himself at such a distance as to stand but to the view of the spectators in all his individual importance. This vanity in the chief of the state and the author of the new religion did not escape comment and sarcasm, even then when he might be said to stand on the summit of his power and popularity. This, however, one of the proudest, was destined to be one of the last days of the sovereignty of Robespierre. The "pride, pomp, and circumstance" of the festival we have just described had scarcely vanished from his gaze, when the first mutterings became audible of the tempest that was to overwhelm him, and which on the famous 9th Thermidor burst on his head, and once more restored liberty and hope to France. Exactly seven weeks elapsed between the festival and that catastrophe.

The year 1795, the last during which the Convention sat, was quite as much distinguished as the preceding two had been by the stormy scenes which took place within and around the legislative chamber. But to go over the events of all these remarkable days would far exceed our limits ; and the detail, besides, even if we had room for it, would present little more than a repetition of the same features of turbulence and outrage exhibited in the notices already laid before the reader, and would not therefore add many new points of interest to the

history of the Tuileries. Of these days the three most memorable were those of the 12th Germinal (1st April), the 1st Prairial (20th May), and the 13th Vendemiaire (5th October). On all of these occasions the hall of the legislative body was attacked by mobs more than usually formidable, both from their numbers and the ferocious and determined spirit by which they were animated. On the 12th Germinal, the multitude, composed of as many women as men, disarmed the guards of the Convention, forced the doors of the hall, and, pouring in like a torrent among the deputies, soon filled every part of it. Most of the members, however, kept their seats, though pressed upon almost to suffocation by the crowd, who insulted and threatened them by the most furious gesticulations and outcries. In this scene of terrific confusion the women exhibited by far the greatest violence of demeanour and language; calling upon the men with vehement and continued clamour to make at once a general massacre of the representatives, and reproaching them with pusillanimity for hesitating to obey this inhuman exhortation. At last, when the general mass were somewhat tired of exerting their lungs, they allowed one or two individuals of their number to address the Convention. While one of these orators, named Van-Heck, was speaking, a member of the house happened to whisper something to a brother-deputy who sat beside him. This audacity instantly called down upon its unfortunate author the angry animadversion of one of the women of the sovereign rabble, who, calling out aloud, demanded that the deputy should be immediately compelled to declare in the hearing of all what he had been whispering in the ear of his colleague. Duhem, a member of the Convention, had actually the monstrous effrontery to rise and support this demand, in which he was eagerly seconded by

the yells of the whole mob. The accused deputy, however, obstinately remained silent; and his firmness at last wearied out the clamors of those who would have forced him to speak, or other matters, engaging their passions, released him from their persecution. The tumult, increasing in violence every minute, lasted for full four hours—when at last the friends of order roused themselves from the consternation into which they had been thrown, and proceeded to take measures for the delivery of the legislative body. The tocsin having been sounded from the central pavillion of the palace, and the drum having beat to arms in the different quarters of the city, the national guard assembled in great strength around the hall of the Convention. Upon finding themselves thus invested, the leaders of the mob within the hall thought proper to withdraw their followers; and thus the day, notwithstanding all the atrocities by which it had been characterized, terminated without actual bloodshed.

Not so the next great eruption of the popular volcano. On the 1st Prairial the disturbances commenced by troops of women forcing their way into the hall of the Convention, where by their frantic exclamations they immediately produced a scene of disorder as tempestuous as that apartment had ever before witnessed. Several members expressed in warm terms their sense of the humiliation to which the legislature was reduced; but none with more passionate indignation than the young Ferraud, deputy from the High Pyrenees, who had just returned from the army of the North, where he had distinguished himself by his courage. An order was at last given to clear the galleries; which, after some vain attempts had been made to reason with the noisy furies who filled them, was acted upon and carried into effect without much difficulty by the adjutant-general Lié-

bault, at the head of about half a dozen soldiers. But by this time both the court before the Tuileries and the Place du Carrousel were filled with an immense mob of men and women; a party of the latter of whom had already attempted to disarm one of the battalions stationed for the protection of the palace. This mob had also attacked two deputies who had been successively sent by the Convention to make a proclamation directing them to disperse; having pulled them from their horses, and being just about to tear them to pieces, when they were fortunately rescued by the military. At the very moment while Liébault and his soldiers were in the act of driving the women from the galleries, a violent knocking was heard at the door of the Saloon next to the legislative hall, then called the *Salon de la Liberté*;—this door formed in fact the only barrier between the deputies and the mob, and they seemed to be breaking it open with hammers and hatchets. The noise made by the persons who were engaged in this operation resounded throughout the palace for fully half an hour. At last the door yielded to their blows; and instantly an immense multitude rushed in an irresistible torrent into the hall of the Convention. The deputies were forced by the pressure of the crowd to leave their seats, and were glad to retire to a number of more elevated benches, where they were in some degree protected behind a row of gendarmes. After a short time had elapsed, however, another body of citizens, armed with swords and bayonets, entered the hall from the opposite door; and, immediately commencing an attack upon the disorderly multitude by whom they found it occupied, were not long in forcing them back through the passage by which they had entered. Their expulsion was accomplished without bloodshed; for in their surprise at the unexpected appearance of their opponents,

they attempted no resistance and took flight at once. They very soon, however, recovered from their panic, and, having provided themselves with arms, and put themselves into some sort of array, rushed back to the hall. They were met at the entrance of the *Salon de la Liberté* by the same armed citizens who had before driven them back ; but these defenders of the legislative body were now forced to give way to the immense multitude that pressed upon them ; and the hall would have been again in possession of the insurgents, had not a new party of the friends of the Convention come up, by whose assistance they were once more repulsed. For a short time after this all was tranquil within and around the legislative chamber. But in the course of little more than half an hour,—at half past three, namely, in the afternoon,—a louder and more tremendous shouting than ever was heard at the door of the *Salon de la Liberté* ; and in an instant the ferocious multitude was seen again pouring into the hall, with a volume and impetuosity before which all the resistance that could be offered was utterly unavailing. The men and women of whom this torrent was composed were almost all armed either with pikes, swords, or guns ; and several shots were fired by them as they entered the hall on the guards, who vainly attempted to oppose their progress. A scene of frightful confusion now ensued. The deputies were driven from their seats, and scattered every where among the mob, who made them the victims of all sorts of insults and outrages. In the midst of this uproar the president, Boissy d'Anglas, calling to him the adjutant-general, gave him orders to employ the force at his command for the protection of the legislature. Some of the mob perceived what he was about, and instantly several muskets were pointed at him, while others rushed with their swords upon Liébault, who, seeing the

danger in which the president was, had thrown himself betwixt him and his assailants. At this crisis, Ferraud, whom we have mentioned above, and who had already distinguished himself more than once in the course of the day by his active heroism in encountering the mob, being in no other way able for the crowd which blocked up the steps to reach the elevation where the president and Liébault stood, attempted by the assistance of an officer to spring up into the tribune from which the members were wont to speak, and which was immediately before the president's desk. But as he was mounting, he was first torn down by one of the mob, who caught hold of him by his dress, and immediately after fired at with a pistol by the same individual. When he received the ball of his assassin, he fell at the foot of the tribune without uttering a groan. "The mob," says Dulaure, "now loaded him with indignities, struck him with their sabres, and dragged him by the hair into a gutter outside the hall. There, the savages, while their victim yet breathed, cut off his head with a knife. They then placed this head on the end of a pike, and came back to present the horrible trophy to the president; who, on beholding it, shuddered and made a profound inclination in token of how greatly he deplored the loss and honoured the memory of the brave colleague, who in defending his life had sacrificed his own. After this they carried about the bleeding head through the garden and the different courts of the Tuileries. On reaching the Place du Carrousel they threw it on the ground, and the horrible object became the plaything of a number of children, till it was taken from them by an officer of the national guard*."

The tumult in the hall of the Convention continued with unabated violence for many hours after

* *Exquisses Historiques*, iv. 113.

the murder of Ferraud. Although several battalions of the Sections had assembled with their artillery around the palace, on the tocsin being rung from the Pavilion of Unity, they remained on the outside of the building without attempting to dislodge the mob from the interior. It was nearly midnight when a strong body of armed citizens in the interest of the Convention at last made their appearance in the hall—and boldly attacking the rabble, proceeded to drive them out at the point of the bayonet. Even then the contest was a sharp, and for some time a doubtful one; many persons were wounded on both sides; but the insurgents at last gave way, and evacuated the apartment. Thus the day again terminated in another victory of the legislature over the revolted populace.

But much more terrible scenes even than those we have just related took place within and around the Tuileries on the 13th Vendémiaire. Many of the Sections had the day before declared themselves in a state of rebellion against the Convention, and announced their intention of no longer paying any respect to its decrees. But they did not long confine themselves to mere proclamations. At three o'clock in the morning the drum beat to arms in all the streets; and cries were every where heard calling upon the people to rouse themselves and come forth to overthrow their tyrants. Notwithstanding the darkness of the night and the rain which fell in torrents, multitudes immediately obeyed this invitation—and an armed force of from twenty-five to thirty thousand men was speedily assembled. Meanwhile the Convention, which had previously decreed that its sittings should be permanent, was not idle in calling into operation such resources as remained to it for its own protection. The troops, upon which it could rely, amounted only to four or five thousand men. The disposition of this force it committed to

General Barras, who appointed as his second in command Napoleon Bonaparte, then only a captain of engineers, but who had already acquired the reputation of an officer of distinguished ability by his conduct nearly two years before at the capture of Toulon. Barras, drawing up his men along the quays on the north bank of the river, endeavoured in the first instance to comprehend within his line of defence the whole space from the Pont Neuf to the Champs Elysées—but it was eventually found advisable to withdraw the troops which formed its eastern extremity from their original station, and to make them fall back upon the Tuileries. The popular forces, which were under the command of General Danican, occupied the whole of the Rue St. Honoré, the Place Vendôme, the open space around the church of St. Roch, and the Palais Royal.

Notwithstanding the attitude thus taken on both sides, the fighting did not commence till about half-past four in the afternoon. The first discharge of musketry proceeded from a battalion of the Sections, which was stationed in the Rue de l'Echelle. It was directed against a body of the forces of the Convention occupying the part of the present Rue de Rivoli which is immediately opposite to the end of that street, and it brought twenty-three of them to the ground. It was immediately returned, however, with much more terrible effect; and the forces of the Convention being alone provided with cannon, they were soon enabled to sweep the street of their opponents. The latter then took refuge in the houses, from which they fired down upon the soldiers below. Farther to the west, in the mean time, the troops, who protected the legislative chamber, were suffering severely from the fire of a body of the citizens, who, placed on the steps that led up to the front door of the church of St. Roch, discharged their

muskets down the Rue du Dauphin (then called the Rue de la Convention), up which the enemy were attempting to advance from the court of the Manège—while they themselves, from the commanding position they occupied, and the opportunity they had of sheltering themselves, when necessary, by retiring out of the direction of the street, escaped for a long time with comparatively little loss. The Conventional troops at last made a desperate assault upon the church, and succeeded, in the face of a most destructive fire, in bringing up their cannon to the base of the steps. The numbers by whom they were here opposed, however, were found to be so overwhelming, that to save their artillery from being captured they were obliged to retreat. The combat was then renewed in the street, where it continued to rage till six o'clock with undiminished violence, and great slaughter on both sides. After this the forces of the Sections began gradually to slacken their fire and to withdraw.

“During the attacks upon these two points,” says M. Dulaure, who appears to have been in the Tuileries at the time, “the hall of the legislature was occupied only by a small number of representatives, who, calm in the midst of the danger, awaited the issue of events; several were with the military, directing their movements and leading them on to the combat; others walking about in the garden along the front of the palace, repeatedly heard musket balls whistling past their ears, although without knowing whence they proceeded. At last it was perceived that some persons placed at the windows of a house occupied by a restaurateur named Venua, near the *Rue de la Convention*, were employed in firing at the deputies who were assembled in the garden. On this Goupilleaux de Fontenay caused a small cannon to be brought up and pointed at these

windows; and a single discharge of case-shot at once produced a crash of shattered glass; and put an end to the firing of the musketeers. But the most painful part of the spectacle was that which was presented by the wounded soldiers who were carried upon litters into one of the halls of the Tuileries. This hall, situated immediately over the vestibule of the palace, was red with blood, which even ran down the adjoining staircase. * * * It was impossible to obtain any assistance for the wounded from without, in consequence of the state of siege in which the palace was kept. The only person who kept house within the building was the deputy Baudin, who resided there as holding the office of keeper of the archives. His wife hastened to lend all the succour in her power to the poor men; she brought them linen and all the liquids necessary for the dressing of their wounds, while such of the deputies as had been surgeons or physicians ran to give them the aid of their professional skill. Several wives of deputies also, whom the people had threatened at their own houses to seize as hostages, or even to decapitate, had taken refuge in the hall of the Convention and the galleries. There they employed themselves in tearing down rags to make lint for dressing the wounds of the soldiers.*"

The Rue St. Nicaise, which then opened into the Place du Carrousel, was also the scene of a sharp but not very prolonged conflict on this sanguinary night. At its northern extremity, where it joins the Rue St. Honoré, the forces of the Section of the Tuileries were drawn up in order of battle; and, when Barras commanded them to retire, they answered his summons by a general volley of musketry. They could not, however, keep their ground before the cannon of their adversaries, and were

* *Exquisses Historiques*, iv, 247.

speedily obliged to take refuge under the arcades of the Théâtre Français, then called the *Théâtre de la République*, in the adjoining Rue Richelieu. Meanwhile another attack had been attempted by the Sections from the opposite side of the river. About half past five o'clock two columns of the popular forces, amounting together to about three thousand men, were seen advancing in silence along the Quai Voltaire, with the evident intention of attempting to carry the Pont Royal. Only two small pieces of artillery had been placed on this bridge; but on perceiving the approach of the enemy, General Verdières, who commanded, ordered another of larger size to be brought up and charged with case-shot. The troops of the Sections, continuing their advance in the face of these defences, so soon as they reached the bridge demanded a free passage, and on meeting with a refusal immediately poured in a general discharge of musketry upon their opponents. But they were unable to stand against the destructive fire with which they were now met from different points. While the forces on the bridge, who were in a great measure protected from their attack, assailed them both with their musketry and their cannon in front, another column who occupied the quay of the Louvre on the opposite side of the river, and who were also provided with artillery, bore with equal severity upon their flank. They soon gave way under this double fire; and taking flight did not again recover their ranks. Thus, the insurgents were beaten at all points by the forces of the Convention; but the latter were occupied till nearly six o'clock in the morning in pursuing the scattered remnants of the enemy, and dislodging them from the different posts, in which they took refuge and attempted to barricade themselves. They were thus successively driven from the church of St. Roch,

from the Théâtre Français, from the square of the Palais Royal; as also from the northern extremity of the Rue Richelieu, and from what was called the Barrière des Sergens, which stood at the spot where the Rue St. Honoré meets the Rue Croix-des-petits-Champs; at both which stations parties of them had formed barricades by tearing up the pavement. This great victory completely re-established the sovereignty of the Convention, at least in Paris. But that assembly only continued in existence for about three weeks longer; having terminated its sittings, and given place to the government of the Directory and the two Chambers, on the 26th of the same month.

More injury was done to the palace and garden of the Tuileries on the 13th Vendémiaire than they had suffered from any of the preceding tumults of the Revolution. Orders, however, were soon after given by the government for the repair of the damage which had been sustained by this magnificent national domain. The works undertaken for this purpose were carried on under the superintendence of the tribunal called the Commission of Inspectors of the two Councils, which sat in the Pavillon Marsan of the palace. The Tuileries, however, was again exposed to the risk of becoming the scene of a civil conflict, about two years afterwards; on the day, namely, of the 18th Fructidor an V., or the 4th of September 1797. At this time the five members of the Directory were divided into two parties; La Réveillère-Lépaux, Rewbel, and Barras, forming the majority; and the minority consisting of Carnot and Barthélemy. The two latter, however, had the majority of supporters in both the legislative chambers; and hence a state of the government which could not possibly last long. At three o'clock on the morning of the day just mentioned, General Augereau, having

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under his command about twelve thousand men, who had been secretly introduced into the city in the earlier part of the night, by order of Barras and his friends, proceeded to invest the Palace and the Manège—the former being now the place of meeting of the Council of Ancients, and the latter that in which the Council of Five Hundred assembled. General Ramel, in the mean time, who commanded the eight hundred grenadiers of the legislative guard, and who was in the interest of the party who possessed the majority in the chambers, had also his men already under arms, and posted at the Pont Tournant. But, on General Lemoine presenting himself at about half past three in front of this gate, at the head of a column of the troops of the Directory (about fifteen hundred strong), and demanding admittance, the grenadiers, being assured that they were encompassed by an army of more than ten times their own number, well provided with artillery, immediately gave way. The garden was now in possession of the agents of the Directory; and this gave them the complete command of the two legislative halls. Proceeding to that of the Council of Ancients, General Augereau placed his seal upon the doors, having besides commanded a powerful battery of cannon to be pointed against the part of the palace in which it was. He then sent General Lemoine to that of the Council of Five Hundred, in which a number of deputies had already assembled (it being now about half past four o'clock), to command the persons whom he might find there to disperse immediately, by order of the Directory. On their refusal to obey, Lemoine proceeded to place guards at the several entrances to the apartment; so that no one was afterwards permitted either to enter or to leave it. Thus vigorously and boldly managed, the *Coup d'Etat* was crowned with perfect success; the three Directors ob-

tained a complete triumph over their colleagues and the legislature, and the new Revolution was accomplished. All resistance from the opposite party was now out of the question. Even the grenadiers of the legislative guard joined the victorious troops whom they had been called out to oppose; and in a few hours the two councils were reassembled for the despatch of business in another part of the city: that of the Five Hundred having repaired, at the bidding of their masters, to the hall of the Odéon Theatre, and that of the Ancients to the Amphitheatre of the school of Medicine immediately adjoining. About noon eighty deputies of the defeated party approached the Tuileries in a body, to try if it might be possible to obtain admission to their usual place of meeting; but they were immediately driven back by the guards. Sixty-five of these unfortunate men, besides Carnot and Barthélemy, were the following day condemned to be transported, on the pretext that they had been found guilty of a conspiracy for the restoration of royalism.

On the 24th Fructidor, or 10th September, the two legislative assemblies were permitted to return to their usual places of meeting in the palace and the Manège of the Tuileries. Another military demonstration, however, on the famous 18th Brumaire an VIII., or 9th November 1799, when Bonaparte seized the government, again compelled them to transfer their sittings elsewhere. It is curious that it was on this very day, ten years before, that the Constitutional Assembly first met at the Manège. The palace of the Tuileries soon after this became the residence of Bonaparte; and ere long its halls were once more revisited by the pomp and brilliancy of a court.

CHAPTER VIII.

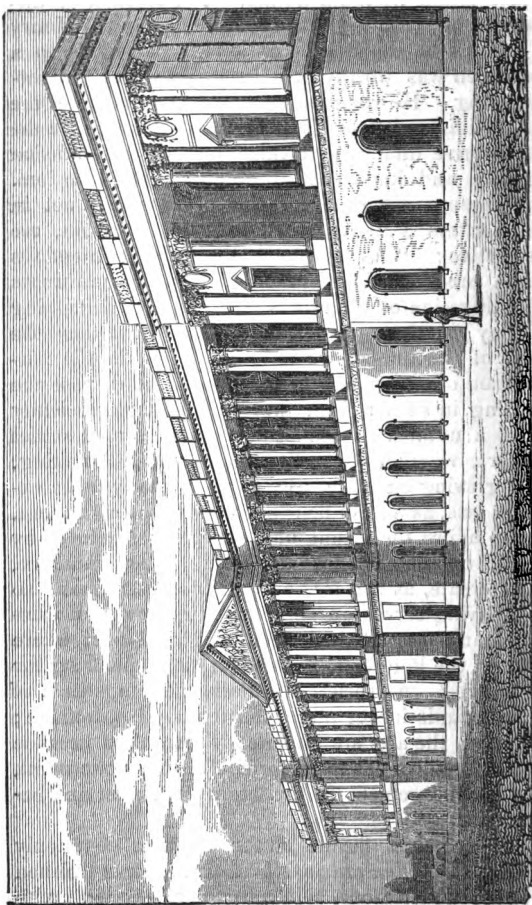
THE LOUVRE—MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

ON the side of the Seine, the celebrated Gallery of the Louvre connects that palace with the Tuileries. It was here that, before the overthrow of Napoleon, the choicest treasures of art which the world had produced were assembled together—a union of the spoils of all countries which could only have been produced by the injustice of a mighty conqueror. Those spoils have been restored to their rightful masters—in some cases to be neglected, in others to excite only a fruitless admiration; but with the certainty that, had they remained to France, they would have nurtured the most hateful feelings of national vanity, and have stimulated the taste of a people at the expense of their public integrity. The statues and pictures which now remain in the Louvre have been honestly acquired. Many of them are valuable—some of the highest order of excellence; and, though the Apollo and the Transfiguration no longer attract pilgrims from every quarter of the globe where art is venerated, the treasures which remain are abundant and choice enough to serve for example and instruction.

The gallery of the Louvre was commenced by Charles IX., whose memory is associated with this palace by a deed which mankind will never forget as long as a hatred of treachery and bloodthirsty bigotry

is inseparable from our nature. The erection of this magnificent building was continued under Henry IV.; and he dedicated the lower apartments to a use which was worthy of a benevolent and enlightened king. He assigned them as the lodgings of the most skilful artists of his day; thus providing, in the comparative infancy of civilization, for the diffusion of taste and knowledge throughout his kingdom. The reasons assigned for this praiseworthy act in the Letters Patent issued on the occasion, are instructive: "As amongst the infinite blessings which are caused by peace, that which advances the cultivation of the arts is not the least, flourishing as they do through her, and thus promoting the good of the public, we have provided, in the construction of our gallery of the Louvre, to dispose the building in such a form that we might conveniently lodge a number of the best workmen, and skilful masters, whether in painting, jewellery, clockmaking, or engraving on stone, as well as in many other excellent arts, as well to benefit ourselves through them, and to afford the means of their being employed by such of our subjects as have need of their industry, as to create, as it were, a nursery of workmen, so that, having served an apprenticeship to skilful masters, many may go hence to be spread everywhere through the kingdom, capable of fitly labouring for the public." As society advances, the competition of capital stands in the place of such royal patronage; but, when the arts are imperfectly patronised because a taste for them has to be formed in the public mind, such encouragement is the highest wisdom and benevolence.

The principal façade of the Louvre, commonly called '*The Colonnade of the Louvre*,' was finished in 1670, under Louis XIV., by the celebrated archi-



Principal Façade of the Louvre.

tect, Claude Perrault. It is unquestionably a magnificent monument of genius. The edifice now known by the name of '*The Old Louvre*,' was begun by Francis I. Of the more ancient palace, which, surrounded by ditches and flanked by massive towers, was in fact a fortress from which the king of France might overawe the Parisians, there are no remains. The exact date of the fortress is very uncertain; and the very name of the palace is as obscure as its origin. Some antiquaries state that the word Louvre is derived from *Lupara*, a place fit for the chase of the wolf; others that it is from the Saxon word *lower*, or *lowvear*, which signifies mansion, or castle; and others, that it means *l'œuvre*, the *chef-d'œuvre*, the work *par excellence*.

Before the eastern façade of the Louvre there was anciently a ditch of considerable breadth, into which the waters of the Seine were allowed to flow, and which was crossed at the centre by a drawbridge leading to a gate. Outside this moat were two tennis-courts, one on each side of the entry to the bridge. Between the southern tennis-court and the Seine stood a building called the Hôtel de Bourbon, the windows of which looked out upon the river. It occupied the ground between the south-eastern corner of the Colonnade of the Louvre and the Rue de Petit Bourbon. The greater part of this building was demolished in 1525; but a chapel and a large gallery which had formed part of it, remained standing till 1660, when they were taken down to permit the erection of the façade which now ornaments that side of the Palace. Down to the commencement of the reign of Louis XIV. the Court were accustomed occasionally to give fêtes and ballets in this Gallery; and here also the celebrated Molière acted with his company in 1658.

The chief historical interest attached to the Louvre is derived from a single event—but that one of the most famous in the French annals. Upon the courts and halls of this royal palace rests the memory of some of the darkest and bloodiest scenes of the terrible day of St. Bartholomew. It was in the chambers of the Louvre that the scheme of the massacre was prepared and arranged; it was hence that the mandates for its commencement were sent forth; much of the carnage took place within the precincts of this building; and the other principal localities of the story are all in its immediate vicinity.

Though the throne of France has never been filled by a female, the government of that country has perhaps been as frequently, and as thoroughly for a time, what writers on the constitution of states call a *Gynocracy* as that of any other kingdom in Europe. Queens, queen-mothers, and royal mistresses, have repeatedly proved too strong for the Salic law; and, without actually wearing on their brow “the round and top of sovereignty,” have exercised, sometimes almost openly, its fullest prerogatives. At the period of which we are now about to speak, the year 1572, the actual ruler of France was the celebrated Catherine de Medicis, the widow of Henry II., and the mother of the reigning King, Charles IX. The spirit of ambition has rarely possessed any bosom more completely than it did that of this remarkable woman. Unrestrained either by religion or humanity—despising alike the law of God and the opinion of man—she was well fitted to move forward in the pursuit of her purposes with the reckless and unshrinking audacity which their nature demanded, and to brook neither obstacle nor competitor in her path. If she had one weak point of character, and was even more than the generality of her contemporaries the slave of the popular superstitions of her age, her

deference to the imaginary intimations of the stars was in no degree calculated to withhold her from any really wicked course, although it might sometimes make her fly from dangers of its own creation. Indeed, in thus scaring her with merely visionary terrors, it was likely only to plunge her deeper into crime than she might otherwise have fallen. Of crimes of a certain character there is no other of the passions which is so fruitful a mother as Fear. Catherine too, if not endowed in any surpassing degree with general talent, was an Italian not more in blood and lineage than in the subtlety and wiliness which have been supposed, in modern times, to characterize her countrymen; and, young as she was, only fourteen, when she left her native land, she seems to have brought away with her from her earliest instructors no small share of that art of intrigue and skill in political stratagem, for which the minor courts of Italy had long been famous. Charles himself inherited much of the ability of his mother; but this bad woman, with a view to secure the more completely her own domination, had taken pains to surround her son, from the moment when he became king (which he did when only a child of ten years of age by the death of his elder brother, Francis II.), with every seduction most suited to corrupt and enfeeble his mind, and to pervert the bounty of nature. She did not altogether succeed in this design; for, despite of his disadvantages of training, Charles, when he reached manhood, displayed decidedly superior talents, even of a literary kind; as may be seen from some of his compositions, both in prose and verse, which are still extant. But the influences to which he was exposed seem to have nearly stifled whatever had been originally good in his moral nature, and to have operated with all the intended effect in giving preternatural expansion and

growth to the seeds it contained of vice and weakness. This victim of a mother's heartlessness and selfish ambition manifested, as he advanced in years, a character and disposition which fitted him to be partly that mother's instrument and partly her coadjutor. Catherine's resoluteness and stern inflexibility of purpose had degenerated in Charles into mere obstinacy and waywardness; and where she proceeded to her end with a cool, single-eyed, invincible determination, he was only headstrong, precipitate, and driven forward by the caprice of the moment, to be immediately driven back as far, perhaps, by an opposite gust of temper or inclination. But, on the other hand, making allowance for his youth and comparative inexperience, for he was as yet only twenty-two, his capacity for perfidy and dissimulation was scarcely inferior to her own; and his indifference to the sufferings of others in the pursuit of his own gratifications equally hardened. Without any of his mother's nerve, or, as some may call it, strength, of character, in treachery, in cruelty, in selfishness, in all that constituted the mere baseness of her nature, he was the worthy son of such a parent.

Such were the hands that held the royal authority. Meanwhile the country was kept in a state of distraction, breaking out occasionally into open warfare, by the enmity of the two great religious parties into which the people were divided. At the head of the adherents to the ancient faith were the Duke of Guise and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, who were nearly connected with the royal family by the marriage of their niece, Mary of Scotland, with the late King, Francis II. The chiefs of highest rank among the Hugonots, or Protestants, were the two young princes of the blood, Henry, King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé. The main stay of the party, however, and the individual who principally directed

it, both by his counsels and his popular influence, was the able, brave, and virtuous Coligny, or, as he was generally called in his own day, the Admiral of Chatillon. Of the general population the immense majority were Catholics, but still the Protestants formed also a very numerous and powerful body; and, although the recent battles of Jarnac and Montcontour, in both of which they had been beaten by the King's brother, the Duke of Anjou, had for the present somewhat broken their strength, the energy natural to a new and aggressive sect was not likely to allow them to remain long depressed under the effects of these disasters. The peace (commonly called *la paix boiteuse*—*the lame peace*) concluded in August 1570, had rather put a stop for the moment to the active hostilities of the two parties than united them, or composed their differences.

Things were in this state when the Queen-mother resolved to strike a bold and decisive blow for the consolidation of her authority. There is no reason to suppose that Catherine, in her meditated attack upon the Protestants, was actuated by any feelings of religious bigotry or fanaticism. Her whole history and character seem to contradict such an explanation of her conduct. In her treatment of the two sects up to this time she had evinced all the impartiality of a perfect indifference to the peculiar tenets of either, making use of the one merely to balance the other, and courting the alliance now of the Catholics, now of the Protestants, just as it best suited at the moment the interests of her own authority. But, although she had hitherto succeeded by this sort of management in preserving her position at the head of affairs, the supremacy which she was so enabled to maintain was far from the full and unfettered dictatorship to which her ambition aspired. Mistress of the State as she was, she had yet been obliged to

share too much of her power with those under whose protection, as it were, she held it, and who, by merely withdrawing their aid and support, could, at any moment they chose, leave her in the hands of another faction just as little disposed to allow her the exercise of an unparticipated sovereignty. Tired of this imperfect and precarious sway, Catherine appears to have resolved upon the adoption of a new policy. Instead of longer employing the two hostile parties to balance each other, she now determined to avail herself of the assistance of the one to effect, once for all, the extermination and destruction of the other. This accomplished, she counted upon having very little further trouble with the surviving sect, who would not, in all probability, come out of the service in which they were about to be engaged, without suffering considerably themselves, if not in physical strength, at least in reputation and moral influence; and who, at all events, would, in the extinction of their adversaries, lose their best support, and the chief arm of strength which had hitherto rendered them formidable. In carrying this deep and daring scheme into execution, its politic projector, for many obvious reasons, fixed upon the adherents of the new faith, whose numbers were comparatively small, and whose power recent events had already considerably reduced, as the party to be immolated to her ferocious and devouring ambition.

The occasion which Catherine determined to seize upon for the perpetration of her diabolical design, was one singularly calculated to deepen the revolting character of the tragedy about to be enacted. To crown and consummate, as it was pretended, the reconciliation of the two religions, the court had proposed that a marriage should take place between Charles's sister, Margaret, and Henry of Navarre. There is too much reason to conclude that Catherine

and her son had from the first suggested this union with no other object than that of drowning the day of its celebration in the blood of their unsuspecting subjects*. Every expedient was now resorted to in order to make the Protestants forget their ancient jealousy of the court, and to lull them into a sleep of reliance and security. The King himself undertook the management of Coligny; and the royal hypocrite plied his chosen task with a depth of art so much beyond his years that he soon had the old man as completely within his toils as he could desire. Having invited the Admiral to court, Charles received him with a degree of distinction which had scarcely ever before been accorded to a subject; and not only restored the forgiven rebel immediately to all his ancient dignities, but took him into his intimacy, consulted him on all affairs of state, seemed on every occasion to be more swayed by his advice than by that of any of his other counsellors, and in fine impressed him with a conviction that he had not a more attached friend than his young sovereign. Coligny thus deceived, it was not wonderful that the great majority of the party who looked upon him as their head should allow themselves to be caught in the same snare. The professions of the court seem to have been almost universally relied upon as sincere; and when invitations to the royal marriage were sent to all the most distinguished Hugonot lords and gentlemen throughout France, few thought of declining to repair to Paris from any apprehension that their

* The Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and especially the question of how far it was the result of a long premeditated plan, have recently given rise to considerable discussion. The reader who may be desirous of studying this controversy, is referred to the article on Dr. Lingard's History of England, in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xlv.; Dr. Lingard's Reply, 8vo, Lond. 1827; and a Letter to Francis Jeffrey, esq. by J. Allen, esq. (the writer of the article), 8vo. Lond. 1827.

lives would be in danger on an occasion which, to them especially, was one of so much triumph and promise, and which was to be graced and sanctioned by the presence, in the quality of the King's principal confidant and adviser, of their most experienced and most venerated chief. Nevertheless, some still retained their doubts and fears, and deemed it most prudent to remain at their homes. One circumstance which alarmed the more suspicious was the sudden death of Henry's mother, the Queen of Navarre, which took place on the 9th of June, at the house of Guillart, Bishop of Chartres, in the Rue de Grenelle, in which she had taken up her abode on coming to Paris a few weeks before to assist in the preparations for her son's nuptials. This lady was a person of distinguished ability and strength of character; and, although the excitement in which men's minds were at the time, from the expectation of coming events, may have caused her death to pass over with less observation, it was afterwards very generally believed that she had been taken off by poison, perhaps from a fear on the part of the court that her penetration, and the opportunities she enjoyed of mixing intimately with the royal circle, might enable her to detect or conjecture the meditated treachery.

As the day on which the marriage was to take place approached, the Hugonot gentlemen, and even numbers of the humbler orders who belonged to that persuasion, flocked to Paris from all quarters; and by the middle of August the capital had collected within its walls nearly all the persons of consequence in France attached to the new faith. On the evening of Sunday the 17th the espousals of the royal pair were celebrated in the Louvre with becoming festivities; and on the following morning the marriage ceremony was performed on an elevated platform erected before the great door of the cathedral of

Nôtre Dame, in the presence of a splendid company, composed both of Catholics and Protestants. The celebrated De Thou, who was then a young man of nineteen, and had come to Paris in the suite of the King of Navarre, was present upon this occasion, as he has mentioned both in his *Life* and in his great historical work*. After the performance of the ceremony, the bride and those of the company who were Catholics, advanced to the high altar to hear mass; while Henry, Coligny, and the rest of the Protestants, retired into the choir. There also, when the mass was over, De Thou introduced himself, as he tells us, by leaping over a barrier which had been erected to keep out the crowd, and took his place near Coligny. While he kept his eyes fixed with eager curiosity on the countenance of the great soldier, he saw him pointing out to the Mareschal de Damville the colours taken from the Protestants in the battles of Jarnac and Montcontour, which were suspended from the walls. "They will soon be replaced by more suitable memorials," said the old man, evidently contemplating in imagination the triumphs awaiting the arms of his now united country, in that war against the insolent encroachments of Spain, upon which the King had allowed him to believe he was on his advice about to enter; and speaking from a heart too full of the present and the future to be inclined to linger on the recollections of the past.

On leaving the church the party returned to the archbishop's palace, and there dined. In the evening a supper and masked ball again collected the revellers in the grand hall of the Louvre, although most of the Protestants were restrained, by the severity of their religious notions, from attending this

* Thuani *Historia*, lib. lii., cap. 2; and *Vita*, in vol. vii. p. 9. Opera. Lond. 1735.

conclusion of the day's festivities. Coligny himself was absent under the pretext of a slight indisposition. The next day, the 19th, was devoted to repose by the King and his exhausted guests ; but on the evening of Wednesday the 20th, the hilarities of the court were renewed by a very extraordinary entertainment given in the Hôtel de Bourbon*. On this occasion, a theatrical show or mask was exhibited to the company, which actually pictured forth with daring distinctness the horrible tragedy that was so soon to follow. On one side of the hall, according to a chronicle of the time †, was shewn Paradise, with its entrance defended by three knights in complete armour, whose parts were enacted by Charles IX. and his brothers. Opposite to this was hell, "wherein," continues the account, "were a great number of devils and devilkens, making infinite foolery and noise, with a great wheel turning in the said hell, hung all over with little bells. The two regions were separated by a river flowing between them, in which was a boat guided by Charon, the ferryman of hell. Beyond paradise lay the Elysian fields, being a garden beautified with verdure and all varieties of flowers, and the Empyrean heaven, which was a great wheel, with the twelve signs, the seven planets, and an infinity of little stars, pierced in it, and giving forth a great light and splendour, by means of lamps and flambeaux, artfully fixed behind them. This wheel was kept continually

* Saint Foix ("Essais sur Paris," i. 298, edit. 1778) asserts that the scene of this remarkable entertainment was the Palace of the Tuileries. In the work, however, from which he quotes the account of it which is given in the text ("Mémoires de l'Estat de France sous Charles IX.," tom. i. p. 268, 2d edit. Meidelbourg, 1578), it is expressly stated to have taken place "en la Salle de Bourbon." De Thou also says it was given "in Borboniis ædibus, juxta Luparam" (the Louvre), Historia, iii. 119, Lond. 1735.

† *Memoires de l'Estat de la France sous Charles IX.*

moving round, and so as to turn round the garden along with it, in which were twelve nymphs, very richly arrayed. There now presented themselves in the hall, several troops of errant knights, all in complete armour, and attired in divers liveries; who, led on by their princes and lords, tried to gain the entrance of paradise, that they might thereafter go in quest of those nymphs in the garden, but were hindered by the three knights who stood there on guard, and who, one after the other, came forth into the lists, and, having broken their lances against the said assailants, and struck them with their cutlasses, drove them back towards hell, into which they were then dragged by the devils. This fashion of combat lasted till all these knights had been worsted, and dragged one after another into hell, the gate of which was then shut and made fast." Other scenes succeeded, the relation of which it is unnecessary to transcribe. But "such," says our author in conclusion, "was the pastime of that day, from which it may be guessed what were the thoughts of the King and his secret counsellors, in the midst of all these counterfeitings. It is well known how their flatterers have since expounded the allegory of these shows, saying that the King then chaced the Hugonots into hell." There can be little doubt indeed that this was the true meaning of the exhibition. It is true that such a rehearsal of the intended massacre was unnecessary for the execution of the design, and might even seem fraught with some risk of preventing its success; but the projectors of great crimes have often shewn this wild propensity to sport with the chances of detection, by venturing to the very brink of a disclosure of their plans.

Even before this dark and shadowy hint of the designs of the court, various circumstances had troubled the confidence of the Protestants. So little care

had their enemies taken to conceal their hostile intentions, that rumours of some terrible blow about to be struck were general among the populace, and had in several instances met the ears of the devoted heretics. Obscure, but earnest, intimations of impending danger had even been communicated to particular individuals, by their Catholic friends. The uneasiness and apprehension thus created were increased to the greatest degree of alarm, when at last a body of twelve hundred soldiers made their appearance in the city, and were seen, after being marched through the streets, to take up their stations under arms, in the vicinity of the palace, the arsenal, and other royal strong-holds. Several Protestant lords and gentlemen, on witnessing the entry of these troops, secretly withdrew themselves from the city ; and even Coligny himself was induced, on the morning of the 20th, to seek the royal presence, and to request an explanation from his majesty of a circumstance which had so greatly excited the fears of his friends. The Admiral was received by his sovereign with so much kindness, and such warm assurances of protection, that long before the close of their interview, whatever suspicions he had at first been inclined to entertain were completely dissipated. So far did Charles carry his dissimulation, that he declared he had ordered the troops into the city for the express purpose of placing them as guards, in the excited state of the public feeling, around the houses of the Hugonots, to protect them from designs which he suspected to be entertained against them by their old enemies, the faction of the Guises. To enable him the more securely to attain this object, he suggested that all the principal persons of the reformed persuasion should be immediately collected from the different parts of the town, and lodged together in the neighbourhood of the palace. Coligny, completely

reassured by all this show of friendship, returned to his house, where he was soon after sought by many of his followers, anxious to consult with him on the circumstances in which they were placed. Retiring to his apartment he left his son-in-law Teligny* to receive his visitors; and with such encouraging animation did this ardent young man describe to them the conversation which the Admiral had just had with his majesty, that most of them left the house convinced of the groundlessness of their fears, and having their doubts of their sovereign's honour converted into gratitude for his provident watchfulness over their safety. The strange allegorical pastime with which the guests of the palace had amused themselves on the evening of the 20th again awakened the misgivings of some; and on the following day Coligny repaired to the Queen-mother, to inform her of the dissatisfaction which these extraordinary revelries had occasioned. Catherine affected to laugh at his alarm;—"My God! Admiral," she exclaimed, "give yourself no farther uneasiness about these festivities of ours—leave us to make merry in our own way—and in the course of four days, on the faith of a queen, I promise you that you and those of your religion shall have such proofs of my regard as shall satisfy your utmost desires." The seeming frankness of these assurances appears again to have allayed all suspicion; and notwithstanding the successive warnings, as we may almost call them, which they had received of the destruction preparing for them, the devoted victims remained in tranquillity under the descending stroke of fate. A French historian has gone so far as to assert that nothing can account for

* Charles, Lord of Teligny in Rovergne, had a few months before this espoused Louisa de Coligny, the daughter of the admiral. This lady afterwards married the celebrated William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, the founder of the Republic of Holland.

the want of foresight exhibited by the Protestants previous to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, except the supposition that God, in order to insure their destruction, had smitten them with judicial blindness*.

But the conspirators were now about to proceed to a more daring act than anything they had yet ventured upon. It was resolved to assassinate the Admiral. In the obscurity which hangs over much of the interior mechanism of these dark transactions, we are left almost to mere conjecture, with regard to the motives which may have prompted the contrivers of the plot to preface their work of general slaughter by this attack on the life of an individual. Perhaps they had become afraid, from the repeated occasions on which Coligny had of late evinced some suspicion of the intentions of the Court, that he had his eye upon them too watchfully, and might yet defeat their plans unless he were instantly got rid of. Or they may have calculated that so alarming an incident as the murder of their chief in open day was the most likely of all things to strike the whole body of the Protestants with consternation, and, by the terror and confusion into which it threw them, to prepare them the more certainly for falling a prey, when their destroyers should be let loose upon them. It may even have been expected that this act of treachery would perchance precipitate them in the first fury of their indignation into some course of violence or aggression, such as might afford a seeming justification for the meditated massacre. At all events, if, as seems likely, the assassination of Coligny was the project of the heads or most determined partners of the conspiracy, it was a stroke well contrived, by its tendency to bring matters to extremities, to fix their less resolute confederates, and nerve them to enter with decision upon that line of action to which they

* Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronologique*, v. 149.

might not otherwise have been easily brought to make up their minds. There are appearances of vacillation (whether arising from fear or some more creditable feeling) on the part of Charles himself, before his mother and her more intimate coadjutors had found means to "screw his courage to the sticking-place," by persuading him that matters had now come to such a pass that, if he should delay attacking the Hugonots, they would assuredly rise and destroy him, and that the question was simply whether they should perish, or himself and a vast multitude of his other subjects.

But to return to our story. Towards eleven o'clock on the morning of the 22nd, which was Friday, the Admiral, after having spent some time in the Louvre with the King's brother, the Duke of Anjou, who had sent for him, was returning on foot* to his hotel in the adjacent Rue de Bétizy, to dinner, when he met the King, coming out of a chapel which stood opposite to the palace. They walked together to the tennis-court of the palace; where, finding the Duke of Guise and Teligny, Charles and the former engaged in a game against the latter and another gentleman. After having stood by for a short time, Coligny took his leave, followed by about a dozen lords and gentlemen of his party, and proceeded on his way home. He had not advanced more than a hundred paces when, as he

* In a curious folio volume of engravings, principally of Massacres and Battles, which appears to have been published in Holland within a few years after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, there is a plate intended to represent that event, in which Coligny is made to appear on horseback as he receives his wound. The contemporary authorities, however, state expressly that he was walking. The author of the *Mémoires de l'Etat de France*, already quoted, describes him "*allant à pied par la rue*," (i. 271). De Thou's expression is "*pedes iter faciens, lentius incedebat*," (iii. 122). There is a copy of this volume of engravings in the British Museum.

was moving leisurely along the Rue des Fossés-St.-Germain, engaged in reading a paper which some one had presented to him, he was suddenly struck by two balls from an arquebuse, one of which carried away the forefinger of his right hand, while the other wounded him more severely in the left arm*. He immediately dropped the paper he held, and fell into the arms of his friends the Sieurs de Guerchy and Despruneaux, the former of whom stood at the moment on his right hand, and the latter on his left. The shot had come from the right; and looking up in that direction the Admiral pointed out at once to those who were with him the window from which it had been fired. The house was that of the Canon Pierre de Pille de Villemur, who had formerly been preceptor to the Duke of Guise. It stood in the Rue des Fossés-St.-Germain, contiguous to the cloister of the church, into which there was an opening from it by a back door. The window at which the assassin had taken his station was darkened by an iron trellis; and, according to some authorities, the man, the better to conceal himself, had spread a covering of linen over the grating. Several of Coligny's followers immediately proceeded to the house, and forced their way into it; but, when they ascended to the apartment from which the assassin had taken his aim, they found only the arquebuse

* Such is the statement of the author of the *Mémoires*, and also of De Thou. Queen Margaret (wife of Henry IV.), however, in her *Memoirs* says the Admiral was wounded in the shoulder; and this account would appear to derive some confirmation from the relation, given in the 15th vol. of Perrau's *Vies des Hommes Illustres*, of a visit to Châtillon-sur-Loing (the place where Coligny's remains were eventually deposited) made in Nov. 1737 by the Abbé Bonamy, who was shewn the shoulder-blade with the ball still remaining in it. The ball, which, according to the common account, lodged in his left arm, was afterwards extracted, as will be seen below. See a note upon this subject in a volume entitled *Histoire de la Saint Barthélemy*, 8vo. Paris, 1826, p. 185.

remaining where he had rested it on the window. He himself, as it afterwards appeared, had made his escape through the cloister of the church, to a horse which stood ready saddled for him on the bank of the river, and on which he was soon after seen riding from the city at full speed, by the gate of St. Antoine. He was a person of the name of Maurevel, or Maurevert, a creature of the Duke of Guise, in whose service this is said not to have been his first exploit of a similar character.

Meanwhile Coligny had been carried home by his friends and put to bed. The news of the attack that had been made upon his life spread rapidly over the city, and the Protestants flocked in crowds to his house. Among others, the celebrated surgeon Ambrose Pareus was quickly in attendance, and proceeded to dress the wounds of the old man, and to extract the ball, while a numerous circle of his friends stood around watching the process with intense solicitude. But we must omit all further description of this scene, and return for a moment to the tennis-court, where we left the King at play. The part of the street where the Admiral was when he was fired at was so near the palace, that the report of the arquebuse, ringing through the tennis-court, startled his majesty and those who were with him; and the next instant some one running into the place from the street informed them what had happened. There is no reason to suppose that Charles had been intrusted by his mother with her plan of assassinating the Admiral. She seems rather, as has been already observed, to have determined upon the perpetration of this crime, principally for the purpose of steadying the wavering resolution of her son, by producing a state of circumstances in which he should imagine it impossible for him to draw back from his design. When Charles, there-

fore, was now told of the daring outrage which had been committed almost within the precincts of his palace, his instant emotion was that of furious indignation. Throwing down his racket, he rushed into the palace, swearing that he would be avenged on the bold ruffian who had thus broken the laws and insulted his authority. He had not been long in his apartment, when the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé sought his presence, having just come from the house of their wounded friend; and to their vehement suit for justice on the authors of the assassination, he replied, with the most terrific oaths, that the Admiral's blood should be amply atoned for. His mother and the Duke of Anjou, who were also present, deemed it prudent in the mean time to counterfeit the same indignation, and to join in the King's assurances, that nothing should be left undone to detect the perpetrators of so heinous an atrocity.

Soon after this Teligny presented himself, bringing a request to Charles from his father-in-law, that he would deign to pay him a visit at his hotel, as he had some matters to communicate to him which he was unwilling to confide to any other ear. With this petition the King promised to comply. It has been asserted that during the interval which elapsed before his majesty left the palace for this purpose, he and his mother were observed by the people through the windows engaged apparently in eager debate; and it is supposed that he was now for the first time made acquainted with the truth on the subject of the assassination of the Admiral. Be this as it may, about two o'clock Charles set out to make his promised visit, accompanied by his mother, his brothers, and a retinue composed of several of the most distinguished persons of the court, among whom were the Marshal de Tavannes, the Count de Retz, and the Duke de Nevers,

all principal confidants of Catherine, and confederated with her in her scheme for the massacre of the Protestants. The cortège avoided the Rue des Fossés-St.-Germain, where a crowd of people were collected around the spot where the Admiral had been wounded, gazing on his blood as it yet lay wet on the stones. When they reached the house, they were ushered into the apartment where Coligny lay, surrounded by many of his friends, among whom were the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and other individuals of rank. Charles and his mother having taken their seats by the bedside, the wounded man entered into conversation with them. In a long discourse which he addressed to the King, he began by taking God to witness, that in all his actions he had never had any other object in view except the good of his country and his sovereign's true honour, declaring that he was ready to render an account of his conduct to his Maker, if it should be his will now to take him to himself. Passing from that topic, he proceeded to urge upon his majesty the duty of doing something to check the growing ascendancy of Spain, or at least of so ordering matters that the Duke of Alba should no longer be immediately informed, by means of his salaried spies, of whatever took place in the council of the King of France. But the subject to which he besought the King's attention with the greatest earnestness, was the necessity, if he wished to preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom, of his giving orders that the different edicts which had been published for the protection of the adherents of the reformed faith, and especially the articles of the recent peace, should be more strictly maintained. Charles replied in somewhat guarded terms; but he expressed his conviction of the Admiral's loyalty and patriotism, and added that it had ever been his wish to observe religiously his compact with his Protestant

subjects, and that such was still his determination. He then professed to feel anxious that Coligny, in his weak state, should not agitate himself by any further exertion; and, adverting to his wound, declared with an oath that he would punish the crime which had been committed, in such a manner that the memory of his revenge should never be forgotten. The conversation continued for a short time longer, when it was proposed by the Count de Retz that Coligny should be removed to the palace, where the Queen of Navarre would willingly give up her apartment to his use. This, however, was opposed by Mazille, the physician in attendance, who stated that a removal would be attended with danger to his patient. The royal party remained to see the wounds dressed, when Charles, taking up one of the bandages that was steeped in blood, looked at it with every appearance of reverential concern, and then handed it to his mother. The ball which had been extracted from the Admiral's arm was also examined by both. They then took their departure, and hurried back to the Louvre with so much precipitation, that it was remarked they not only took no notice of the salutations of the populace, but even neglected to make the usual inclinations on passing the churches and the images of the Virgin at the corners of the streets. On arriving at the palace, Charles, his mother, the Duke of Anjou, and their chief advisers, remained for some time in secret consultation; after which the King was busily engaged in giving orders and making up despatches, with which couriers were sent off to the provinces in rapid succession.

On the following day, the 23d, the municipal functionaries of the different quarters of the city were employed in going over the streets of their several districts, and taking down the names of the

Protestants, professedly with the object of having as many of them as possible removed to the neighbourhood of the Louvre for their greater safety. Accordingly, a great number of the principal lords and gentlemen of the party were accommodated with lodgings immediately around the hôtel of the Admiral; the Catholics who resided in the different houses giving up their apartments to these new tenants. A guard of fifty soldiers was also stationed around Coligny's hotel, for the protection, as it was pretended, of himself and his friends; but some surprise and apprehension were felt at its being put under the command of Cosseins, a well-known minion of the queen-mother, and an old enemy of the Admiral's. Cosseins and his men seem to have repaired to their post towards nightfall; and at the same time other detachments of military were placed around the palace, along the bank of the river, and at other stations in the same neighbourhood. These arrangements appear to have been determined upon at a final consultation which had been held in the earlier part of the day, in the garden of the Tuileries, by Catherine, the King, the Duke of Anjou, the Marshal de Tavannes, and the other chiefs of the conspiracy. It is said to have been on this occasion that Catherine first proposed to her son the immediate execution of the design which had been so long in preparation; urging upon him with especial earnestness the favourable circumstances in which the attempt might be made while the Admiral was confined to his bed, and the minds of his followers perplexed by anxiety on his account. Her employment of this language would give countenance to the supposition that the assassination of Coligny had been designed to bring about the state of things which she now described, or at least to aid her in

overcoming the irresolution of Charles, by enabling her to assert that such a result had followed from it. The scheme which she proposed for the massacre was of the most sanguinary and comprehensive description, involving the destruction of the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, as well as of all their followers. The arguments of another member of the confederacy, however, succeeded in determining the King to spare the two young princes, on condition of their consenting to embrace the Catholic faith. In that very curious work, the *Memoirs of the Marshal de Tavannes* (written by his son, John, Viscount de Tavannes), it is asserted that the Marshal was the person who was thus the means of saving the life of the future monarch of France. "The more is the pity," adds the writer, "for the sake of the Marshal's descendants, that his majesty does not know the truth on that head*." But from the character of Tavannes, one of the most unscrupulous statesmen of those times, there is but little reason to give him credit for the humane interference which his descendant here ascribes to him. Other authorities with more probability make the proposal in question to have come from the Duke of Nevers*. The Duke of Anjou, who was present at the conference, asserts, in a narrative of the transaction which he some years afterwards gave to the world, that it was on the suggestion of the Count de Retz that the two princes were spared.

It was their own persons only, however, which it was agreed to respect; and it was resolved that,

* "De ce seul advis, et de ceste seule voix de Sieur de Tauanes, ce grand roy Henry quatriesme regnant aujourd'huy, et le feu Prince de Condé tiennent la vie; et le malheur est pour le posterité du Sieur de Tauanes que Sa Majesté n'en sçait la verité."—*Mémoires*, pp. 417, 418.

although untouched themselves, they should have their full share in the terrors of the coming slaughter by beholding it raging in its direst fury close around them. With this view, Charles, under pretence of a fear which he professed to entertain of some attempt upon their lives about to be made by the Guises, invited them to assemble the principal gentlemen of their suites for that night at the Louvre, and to have them lodged around their own apartments. This seemingly friendly counsel was accepted and acted upon; and by ten o'clock the two princes had retired to their respective chambers, while the most faithful of their attendants occupied the adjoining rooms, unarmed, and secure, as they imagined, from all violence, under the pledged honour, and in the fortified and guarded residence, of their sovereign.

After the military had been disposed in the manner that has already been described, the Duke of Guise assembled the principal officers of the different corps, and stated to them in a short address the nature of the service in which they were about to be engaged. At the same time Charron, the Provost of the Merchants, in conformity with the instructions he had received, having collected the captains and lieutenants of the city night-guard in the great hall of the Hôtel de Ville, prepared them in like manner for taking their part in the massacre. The signal, it was intimated, for the commencement of the bloody work would be given towards break of day from the clock of the Palais de Justice—immediately on hearing which they would break into the houses where the Protestants were lodged in all the different parts of the city, and proceed to slaughter the inmates without regard to age or sex. The doors of these devoted dwellings had been all already marked with white

* Mémoires de l'Estat, i. 281.

crosses. The assassins also, that they might know each other when they met, were commanded to wrap each a white scarf around his left arm, and to place a cross of the same colour in his hat. These badges, after the massacre had been begun, seem to have been generally adopted by the Catholic population, both as a means of mutual recognition, and as tokens of the right of those who bore them, to walk unharmed amidst the blood-storm that raged through the inhospitable and treacherous city.

CHAP. IX.

MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW,—CONTINUED.

SUCH then was the state of things at the Louvre, and in the neighbourhood of that royal castle, in the earlier part of the night of the 23d. Most of the persons of note among the Hugonots, to the number of several hundred individuals, were lodged in the Rue des Fossés-St.-Germain, the Rue de Bétizy, and the other streets near the palace. The Admiral of Châtillon lay ill of his wound in his hôtel in the Rue de Bétizy, where his son-in-law Teligny and several others of his more intimate friends also resided *. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were asleep in their apartments in the Louvre, with the principal gentlemen attached to their persons assembled around them under the cover of the same roof. Many Protestants who had not found accommodation in this quarter were dispersed over the other parts of the city; and in the Faubourg St. Germain especially, on the other side of the river, the persons of rank of that persuasion were collected together in considerable numbers. With few exceptions, all these individuals, though well aware that they dwelt in the midst of a hostile population, believed that they were in the mean time secure under the protection of their king; and, trusting to the arrangements which he had made professedly for their safety, had retired to take their repose unarmed and fearing no evil. On the other hand, among

* Coligny's house was the same afterwards known by the name of the Hôtel St. Pierre.

their enemies, all was active preparation for the great blow that was about to be struck. Already had the armed bands, who were to commence the massacre, received their instructions and been drawn up around the dwellings of their unsuspecting victims. Parties of the King's troops and of the city guard were planted at the Louvre, in front of the residence of Coligny, and at different stations in the streets, and along the bank of the river, as far east as the Arsenal, all under the command of minions of Guise or of the Court. Throughout the town the houses tenanted by Protestants were all marked by white crosses on the doors. Meanwhile the different chiefs of the conspiracy were busily employed, some in riding from post to post to see that the arrangements for the attack were complete, or to convey new orders from the Louvre;—others assisting at the consultations which continued to be held by Catherine, Charles, and their associates, within that central seat of the bloody design, in which the preparations for it had been contrived and thus far brought to maturity, and where the match was now about to be applied to that well-laid train, in the explosion of which so many thousands of helpless and innocent human beings were miserably to perish.

As the night advanced, however, the tranquillity to which the Protestants had resigned themselves gave place among some of them to considerable perplexity and alarm. The different movements which were going on in the neighbourhood of the Palace—the frequent opening and shutting of the gates as couriers departed to, or arrived from, the several parts of the city with which it was necessary to be in communication—the introduction of quantities of arms into that stronghold—the constant passing of horsemen and persons bearing torches along the streets—and all the growing bustle unavoidably at-

tendant upon the eve of so terrible an enterprise, had awakened from their sleep many of those who were lodged in the quarter principally disturbed by these noises. Rising from their beds they left their houses and proceeded to the Louvre, in order, if possible, to ascertain the meaning of such unusual commotion. On addressing their inquiries to the soldiers whom they found stationed around the palace, they were informed that the whole was occasioned merely by the preparations for a nocturnal fête which the court was about to give. This answer was rather ambiguous than literally false.

Meanwhile it would appear that Catherine had not yet succeeded in working up the froward and irresolute temper of her son to the pitch of daring at which he would venture actually to give orders for commencing the massacre. It seems to have been originally intended, that the signal for the murderers to fall upon their prey should be sounded from the great clock of the Palace of Justice (in the *Cité*), immediately before daybreak, or about half-past two in the morning. But the undecided state of the King's mind determined Catherine to take advantage of a moment of excitement in which he had been prevailed upon to express his consent that they should proceed with the business, and to order the tocsin to be rung immediately from the steeple of the adjacent church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. This was about twelve o'clock.

As the bell flung its sounds of omen over the city and its suburbs, the people everywhere started from their slumbers. The windows of the Louvre, of the Tuileries, and of many other public buildings and private residences, were lighted up with all haste; and, the tenants of other houses following these examples, the town was speedily illuminated in every part. Some time further, however, seems to have

been spent in preparation on one side, and perplexity, terror, and confusion on the other, before the slaughter was begun. The agents commissioned to execute the plot were now all in motion; the order for striking the blow had gone forth, and could not be recalled; Catherine's purpose was sufficiently attained. But the risk of vacillation on the part of the King having been thus put an end to, it was not intended that the success of the enterprize should be subjected to any chance of being rendered less complete by the actual attack being commenced earlier than had been originally contemplated, or while the necessary arrangements were in any respect immature. In particular, it had been determined by the advice of the wary and experienced Tavannes, on no account to begin the massacre before day-break, lest any of the intended victims should escape in the dark. At last, however, about half-past two o'clock, when the dawn began to appear, Cosseins, who, as already mentioned, commanded the guard stationed in front of the Admiral's house, perceived the Duke of Guise approaching at the head of a body of armed men, and immediately proceeded to make the dispositions already concerted between them. He first placed five or six soldiers opposite to each window of the house, that they might be ready to fire upon any one who should attempt to make his escape. He then knocked with violence at the gate of the court. This brought down the person who kept the keys, and who, on being informed that admission was desired to the Admiral by a messenger from the King, immediately opened the gate. Cosseins instantly fell upon the man, and despatched him by repeated strokes of his dagger. He then, followed by his men, forced his way into the court, the attendants, in their alarm and consternation, after a brief and ineffectual resistance, taking refuge within the house, the door of which

they shut. By this time all the inmates were aroused ; and means were forthwith taken to barricade the door by bringing down the heaviest articles of furniture and placing them behind it. But these impediments did not long withstand the fury of the assailants. Having forced their way into the house, they proceeded to rush up the stairs to the rooms where the Admiral and his friends were. Coligny himself had already risen from his bed, and, seeing that all chance of defence was gone, had desired his friends to leave him, and to hasten, if it were yet possible, to secure their own safety by flight. On this all who were in the apartment withdrew, except a servant named Nicolas Muss ; and, ascending to the upper part of the house, got out by a window in the roof. Very few of them, however, effected their escape ; the greater number having been slain in the adjacent house, through which they endeavoured to gain the street. Meanwhile Cosseins, accompanied by a German of the name of Bême, one of the domestics of the Duke of Guise, and several other persons, suddenly rushed, with their drawn swords in their hands, into the room where Coligny was. The old man looked on them with an unmoved countenance. ‘Are not you the Admiral?’ cried Bême, extending his sword towards him. ‘I am,’ he replied calmly ; and then, fixing his eye upon the naked blade with which he was menaced, ‘Young man,’ he added, ‘you ought to have respected my age and my infirmity ; but you will only shorten my life by a few days or hours.’ ‘Yet I could have wished,’ he is said, after a momentary pause, to have continued with the feelings natural to a soldier, ‘that I were to perish by the hand of a man, and not of this menial.’ Bême then, uttering an oath, first thrust his sword into his breast, and afterwards struck him with it repeatedly on the head ; at the same time the rest assailed him

with like ferocity, till he fell down dead upon the floor. The voice of the Duke of Guise was now heard from below, inquiring if the deed was done? On being answered in the affirmative, he ordered them to throw the dead body from the window, that he might see with his own eyes whether or not it was really the Admiral they had slain. At first, when he looked on the hacked and blood-besmeared carcass, he could scarcely recognize it; but, having bent down over it, and with his own hand wiped the face with a cloth, 'Yes!' he exclaimed, 'I know it now; it is he himself.' He then gave it a kick with his foot; and, calling to his men, led them out of the court*.

While this scene was passing at the house of Coligny, the blood of the devoted Hugonots was flowing with no less profusion at the Louvre, under the eyes of the King himself. Nançay, the captain of the guards, having repaired with a party of his men to the chambers occupied by the attendants of the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, falling upon their victims before they had time to think of defence, instantly took from them what arms they happened to have in their possession; and then, leading them down to the court in front of the palace, slew them deliberately one by one, while Charles looked on from a window, and exhorted them to take care that none escaped. It was impossible, however, that such a massacre could be effected without much noise and disorder, cut off even as the sufferers were from all help or means of resistance. The palace seems to have been filled with confusion and terror. Henry's newly-married queen, Margaret, has given us in her *Memoirs* an account of so much of the frightful tragedy as fell under her own observation. While she lay asleep, she tells us, in her own apart-

* *Mémoires de l'Estat*, i, 289.

ment, which appears to have been near that of her husband, she was awakened by some one knocking violently at the door, and crying out, Navarre, Navarre! "My nurse," she continues, "thinking it was the King, my husband, quickly ran to the door. On her opening it, a gentleman rushed into the room, bleeding from wounds in different parts of his person, and pursued by four soldiers. As they did not hesitate to follow him into the chamber, he, seeking a place of refuge, threw himself on the bed where I lay. I, feeling myself caught hold of by the man, threw myself out of the bed on the floor, where he fell with me, continuing to clasp me round the body. I knew not whether it was he or I the soldiers wished to kill; we both cried out, and the one was as much frightened as the other. At last, by the mercy of God, M. de Nançay, the captain of the guards, made his appearance, who finding me in this condition, even while he had compassion on me, could not restrain himself from laughing. He reprovèd the soldiers for their violence, made them leave the apartment, and granted to my intreaties the life of the poor man who had hold of me, and whom I caused to be put to bed and taken care of in my closet till his wounds were cured. For myself, having changed my chemise, because I was covered with blood, and put on a night-gown, I passed, more dead than alive, into the apartment of my sister, Madame de Lorraine. While I was entering the antechamber, the doors of which were thrown open, a gentleman named Bourse, running from the soldiers who pursued him, was pierced by a halbert three paces from me." At this sight Margaret says that she fainted in the arms of Nançay, who conducted her. Nançay had already informed her of what was going forward, and assured her that her husband was in safety beside the King. In truth, Henry and the Prince of Condé had

been already conducted to Charles, and received by him in a room where he sat in company with the chief contrivers of the massacre. As soon as they presented themselves he addressed them at some length, and, after enumerating the various causes of complaint he conceived himself to have against the party to which they had belonged, concluded by announcing to them that they must either consent immediately to change their religion, or prepare to undergo the fate which they had seen inflicted on so many of their friends. Replying to this harangue, the two young princes ventured to remind their royal kinsman of the promises and assurances by which he had drawn them to his court, and the other considerations entitling them to have their lives preserved and their opinions respected. Their remonstrances were vain. The utmost they could obtain was a respite of three days, before the termination of which they consented to go to mass, and thus escaped death, though they did not recover their liberty.

As soon as the events we have related, which did not occupy much time, had taken place at the residence of the Admiral and at the Louvre, the alarm-bell sounded from the Palace of Justice. This was the signal for all the subordinate agents of the conspiracy in the different parts of the town to commence their operations. Tavannes and several of his associates immediately appeared on horseback in the streets; and, riding about in all directions, called out to the people to kill the Hugonots, telling them that such was the command of the King, who desired that not a single heretic should be suffered to escape*. From this moment the slaughter was universal and

* "Bleed! bleed!" Tavannes is said to have cried, according to some authorities, "bleeding is as good in the month of August as in the month of May."—See Voltaire, *Henriade*; Paris, 1770, tom. i. p. 46.

indiscriminate. Inflamed with the wildest fury of religious hatred, to which, in many cases, fear, revenge, and other malignant passions added double force (for many doubtless believed that in thus imbruing their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, they were only destroying those who would otherwise have massacred them), the multitude set no bounds to their ferocity and cruelty. Persons of both sexes and of all ages equally fell victims to their unrelenting rage. Every house supposed to be tenanted by persons of the obnoxious religion was broken into. The inmates sometimes attempted to fly or to hide themselves, but rarely offered any resistance. It was all headlong fury on the one side, and astonishment and consternation on the other. Nor were all those who perished, Protestants. Many took advantage of the confusion of this popular tempest to satiate their private and personal enmities, and to wreak on a brother of the same faith the hoarded hatred of years. All the worst passions of the human heart were let loose; but their one wild cry was Blood! Blood! On that terrible sabbath blood reeked from the principal streets of Paris as from a field of battle. The bodies of the slaughtered, we are told by a contemporary chronicler*, of men, of women, of children, and of infants, were heaped together into carts, and so carried down and shot into the river, in which they might be seen everywhere floating and tumbling, while its waters were turned to red by the blood that flowed from them. The general description which De Thou gives us of the horrors of the scene is, especially in his own eloquent Latin, exceedingly striking. "The people," he says, "incited against their fellow-countrymen by the captains and lieutenants of the city guard, who were flying about in all directions, rioted

* *Mémoires de l'État*, i. 295.

in the frenzy of a boundless license; and all things wore an aspect of woe and affright. The streets resounded with the uproar of the crowds rushing on to slaughter and plunder, while ever and anon the lamenting cries of persons dying or in peril met the ear, or the carcasses of those who had been murdered were seen tossed forth from the windows of their dwellings. The courts, and even the inner apartments, of many houses were filled with the slain; dead bodies were rolled or dragged along the mire of the high-ways; the bloody puddle overflowed the kennels, and ran down at different places in streams to the river; an innumerable multitude perished, not only of men, but likewise of pregnant women and children *."

But a few individual pictures, which we shall now proceed to select, will convey a clearer idea of the atrocities of this infamous massacre.

We have already stated that the attendants of Coligny, and the Protestant gentlemen who resided in his house, fled by a window in the roof, and that a few of them succeeded by this means for a time in eluding their pursuers. Among these was the young Teligny, recently married to the daughter of the Admiral, a gentleman of distinguished qualifications, and universally regarded by his party with the warmest attachment. He had been observed making his way along the roof of a house by several persons belonging to the court; but, although he was one of those whom they had been particularly charged not to allow to escape, they could not find it in their heart to kill him, "of so sweet a nature was he," says the old chronicler †, "and so much beloved by all to whom he was known." He was afterwards discovered by some soldiers in a garret, and even they,

* Thuani Historia, LII. 7, vol. iii., p. 134; Lond. 1735.

† Mémoires de l'Etat, i. 212.

upon learning his name, went away and left him unharmed. But some other soldiers, belonging to the guard of the Duke of Anjou, coming shortly after to the place where he was hid, despatched him along with several individuals of the Admiral's suite who were with him. This they did, it is related, by command of their captain, L'Archan; although that person had heretofore been Teligny's familiar friend. But all such connections between those not professing the same faith were now broken and forgotten.

Among others who perished was the celebrated Peter Ramus, one of the most intrepid spirits of modern times, and whose whole life nearly had been as stormy as its termination was now miserable. He was at this time Professor of Philosophy and Eloquence in the College of Presles (which stood in the south-eastern quarter of the city, at the corner of the Rue des Carmes); a dignity which he had held for above twenty years, although the civil commotions by which the kingdom had so long been agitated had frequently compelled him to retire for a season from the performance of his duties. He had, however, returned to Paris and to his academic sanctuary on the general pacification of 1570. Being a zealous opponent not only of the ancient religion, but likewise of the philosophy which had long reigned in the schools, he was regarded with particular enmity by the adherents of the prevailing faith. It is asserted by the authority we last quoted, that the murderers were sent to his college, within which he had concealed himself, by one Jacques Charpentier, his personal enemy. "Being found by them," continues the writer, "he gave them a considerable sum of money to save his life. Nevertheless, he was massacred, and thrown from the window of a high chamber to the ground; so that his entrails were scattered over the pavement; after which they were dragged along

the streets, the body being all the while scourged by some scholars, spurred on by their masters, to the great disgrace of good letters, of which Ramus made profession *."

Another notice supplies us with an instance of the manner in which individuals took advantage of the opportunity afforded them by the unbridled license of the moment to destroy those who were on any account obnoxious to them, or of whom they desired to rid themselves. After relating the heroic conduct of the wife of Anthony Merlanchon (who, while both herself and her husband were in the hands of the murderers, maintained the profession of her religion with unshrinking resolution, and exhorted her husband to follow her example), the chronicler proceeds:—"This example of female constancy is marvellous and greatly to be praised. On the contrary, the malice and cruelty of the wife of a joiner living in the Rue des Prouvelles, a man advanced in life, was strange and monstrous. For being during the night thrown into the river he saved himself by swimming to the bank, and thence having climbed up by the great beams of the bridge, he came entirely naked near to the Culture of St. Catherine, where his wife had taken refuge with a relation of her own, and where he thought also that he might remain in some security. But, in place of taking him in, his wife made them send him back, and chase him away all naked as he was, so that the poor man knew not where to go; and, being found next morning in the street in such a condition, was speedily retaken and drowned †."

Although, as has been already mentioned, the victims of the St. Bartholomew in general made scarcely even an attempt to defend themselves, still

* Mémoires de l'Estat, i. 303.

† Id. p. 395.

several instances occurred in which the person attacked did not fall before he had maintained a severe struggle with his assailants. Among others may be mentioned the Sieur de Guerchy, who, wrapping his mantle around his arm, fought with his sword, the only weapon he had, till he sunk under the blows that fell upon him from all sides. Tavervy also, the lieutenant of the Patrole, when the bloodthirsty mob attacked his house, defended himself by the assistance of one of his soldiers with great bravery, so long as his ammunition lasted. He was at last, however, overpowered. "Being then killed," it is said, "and his furniture and most precious jewels carried off, the soldiers laid hold of a lady, his sister, who was in bed, sick and at the point of death, and dragged her naked through the streets, till she breathed her last in their hands*."

The next relation which we shall quote is curious in several other respects, as well as for the evidence which it affords of the baser motives which mingled with the religious zeal of many of the most active among the murderers to urge them on through their bloody work. The reader will remark the illustrations of interesting points of antiquarian research which our extract presents in its references to "the bell of the window," (*la sonnette de la fenestre*), and the time-piece worth seven or eight hundred crowns. The gold-wire-drawer (*le tireur d'or*), who figures in this narrative, was a person of the name of Crucé†, who made himself conspicuous above all his fellows by his enormous butcheries. "Often," says De Thou,

* *Memoires de l'Estat*, i. 306.

† But in the "*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France depuis 1515, jusqu'en 1611*," commonly attributed to Claude de l'Estoile, and published at Cologne in 1719, the *Tireur d'or* is described as "un coquin nommé *Thomas*." Perhaps his name was Thomas Crucé.

“have I with horror seen and heard that man, truly worthy of crucifixion (*vere cruce dignum*), boasting with tremendous ferocity, as he extended his bare arm, that with that he had himself slaughtered more than four hundred persons during the massacre*.”

“Maturin Lussaut, goldsmith to the Queen-mother, dwelling in the Rue St. Germain, near the Miroir, hearing the bell of his window ring, came down stairs, and as he opened his door was pierced through with a sword by the gold-wire-drawer. His son, hearing the noise, came down in all haste, and received a great blow from a sword on the back. Nevertheless, he fled towards the house of a tailor, who would not, however, open the door to him; and by that means he was despatched by a ruffian, who on rifling him found in the pocket of his breeches a very handsome watch, of the price of from seven to eight hundred crowns, which the wire-drawer having perceived, began to throw himself into a passion, and to vent his rage on this ruffian, and was going to kill him, alleging that he had come to poach upon another's manor. But the other having resisted his violence, this wire-drawer went off to make report of the matter to the Duke of Anjou, who kept the watch, paying ten crowns for it, which he made be given to the murderer. The servant, a young girl of sixteen, took refuge in the house of a velvet manufacturer, who wished to make her promise to go to mass, and while she was disputing with him, the murderers came upon her and killed her. After having in this manner slain Lussaut, they shut the door and went away. Frances Baillet, his wife, an honourable lady, having learned from a young man named René what had happened to her husband and her son, went up to the garret, and, opening a

* Thuani Historia, LII. 8, tom. iii. p. 135; edit. Lond. 1735,

window to make her escape to the court of her neighbour, as many others had done, the fall she received was so violent that she broke both her legs. The murderers having re-entered the house, and perceiving this window open and the house empty, so threatened and terrified the person next door (who had concealed the woman in his cellar), that he told them where she was. Then they took her, and dragged her by the hair for a great way along the streets; and, perceiving bracelets of gold on her arms, that they might not have the trouble of unfastening them, they hacked off her two hands; and as she bemoaned to herself their extreme cruelty a cook who was in the crowd thrust a spit through her body, which remained fixed in it. Some hours afterwards the body thus mutilated was dragged into the river. The two hands lay for several days on the pavement, where they were gnawed by the dogs*."

But we cannot afford space for any more of these horrid relations. Of the persons massacred "the greater number," says the writer of the *Memoirs*, "were killed by powerful stabs with daggers and poniards. Those were treated with the least cruelty. For the others were tortured in all the parts of their bodies, mutilated of their limbs, mocked and outraged by taunts still sharper than the points of the swords by which they were pierced." Several old men, he goes on to state, being seized and brought down to the river, were first knocked on the head against the stones of the quay, and then thrown half dead into the water. In one of the streets a number of boys of nine or ten years of age were seen dragging about an infant yet in swaddling-cloths by a rope tied round its neck. Another little child, on being

* *Mémoires de l'Estat*, i. 307.

laid hold of, began to laugh and to play with the beard of the stranger in whose arms it found itself; but the man, untouched by its simple innocence, thrust his dagger into its bosom, and then tossed it from him into the river. "The paper would weep," concludes our author, "if I were to recite the horrible blasphemies which were uttered by these monsters and incarnate devils during the fury of so many slaughters. The uproar, the continual sound of arquebuses and pistols, the lamentable and affrighting cries of those in agony, the vociferations of the murderers, the dead bodies thrown from the windows, or dragged through the mire with strange hootings and hissings, the smashing of doors and windows, the stones which were thrown against them, and the pillaging of more than six hundred houses—all this, long continued, could only present to the eyes of the reader a perpetual image of extreme misery in all its forms*."

By the fortunate mismanagement of the person charged with the conduct of the massacre in the Faubourg St. Germain, the greater number of the Protestants lodged in that quarter of the city, among whom were the Sieur de Fontenay, the Vidame of Chartres, the Count of Montgomery, and many other noblemen and gentlemen of distinction, were enabled to effect their escape. They first received intelligence of what was going forward on the other side of the river about five o'clock in the morning, when a man who had come across in a boat brought them the accounts of the extraordinary state in which the town was. Disbelieving the assertion of their informer that the atrocities which he reported were perpetrated by the order of the King, and convinced that his majesty himself must be in as much danger from the

* *Memoires de l'Estat*, i. 313.

authors of the massacre of their Protestant brethren, many of them were on the point of proceeding across the river with the intention of lending their aid to protect the royal person and authority. But they soon had reason to repent their rashness. While about to step into the boats they perceived approaching them from the opposite side about two hundred soldiers of the King's guard, who immediately discharged upon them a volley of musketry. Looking up they beheld Charles himself at the window of the Hotel de Bourbon, not only encouraging the soldiers, but joining them in the attack. He was firing as fast as the guns could be handed to him, and calling out to the men below, with passionate imprecations, to make all haste, as the Hugonots were already taking flight. On observing this they lost not a moment in attempting their escape; and, some on foot, some on horseback, although many of those who were mounted were without boots or spurs, they fled in all directions, no one thinking of saving anything but his life. The soldiers, rushing into their houses, pillaged them of whatever they contained, and massacred at the same time many of the inmates who had not had time to make their escape. Voltaire informs us, in one of the notes to the *Henriade*, that he had heard the Marshal de Tessé mention that, having met in his youth an old gentleman above a hundred years of age, who had served in the guards of Charles IX., he questioned him on the subject of the St. Bartholomew, and asked him if it was true that the King had fired on his Protestant subjects. "I myself, sir," answered the old man, "loaded the carbine for him *."

The slaughter continued without intermission till five o'clock in the afternoon, at which hour procla-

* *Henriade*, tom. i, p. 258, edit. Paris, 1770,

mation was made by sound of trumpet in the King's name, commanding all the citizens to retire to their houses. But at an early hour on the following morning the populace, refreshed by their few hours of rest, recommenced their bloody work ; and during the whole of that day and the next the butchery of the unhappy Hugonots was carried on with undiminished ferocity, the infuriated rabble only stopping at last when they could find no more victims to destroy. Meanwhile the couriers which had been despatched to the provinces with letters from the King to the several governors, had advertised them of what was passing in the capital, and directed them to follow the same course with regard to the persons belonging to the obnoxious faith in the principal towns of their respective districts. The consequence was, that the same melancholy scenes which had been acted in Paris were repeated in many parts of France. At Meaux, at Troyes, at Orleans, at Bourges, at Lyons, at Toulouse, at Rouen, at Bourdeaux, and in various other places, the mob, encouraged and assisted by the authorities, committed the wildest excesses of bloodshed and spoliation. It does not, however, belong to our subject to enter into the details of these provincial massacres. We return to collect a few additional particulars of what took place at Paris.

As soon as the soldiers of the Duke of Guise had left the Admiral's hotel on the morning of the 24th, a party of the populace, hearing the tocsin ringing from the clock of the Palais de Justice, rushed into the Rue de Bétizy, and were soon collected in a tumultuous throng around and within the court of the mansion which had just been the scene of such sanguinary atrocities. Having found among the other slain the mangled body of Coligny, they gathered round it with eager curiosity, and vied with one another in heaping mockery and outrage on the

senseless clay. Not satisfied with the disfigurement already inflicted upon it by those who had deprived it of life, they proceeded to hack and mutilate it till the gory lump scarcely retained a trace of humanity. One man taking a knife from his pocket cut off the head, and, bearing it away with him, is said to have presented it to Charles and his mother, by whom, after being embalmed, it was sent, according to one report, to the Pope at Rome, or, as other authorities assert, to King Philip II. of Spain. Other monsters, imitating this example, tore off the hands, the feet, the ears; after which the trunk was kicked and dragged about in the mire of the streets by one band of blood-stained revellers after another for three days. It was at last taken to the gibbet at Montfaucon, and there hung up by the legs. De Thou, as he informs us, saw it thus suspended; and the sad spectacle not only brought to his recollection the scene of which he had been a witness only a few days before in the choir of Nôtre Dame, but, to use his own expressions, called up before his very eyes the image of that famous general, the destroyer of so many cities and the victor in so many fields, as he then looked, while already triumphing in imagination over the humbled arms of Spain *. Other eyes

* Vita, p. 11, tom. vii., Lond. 1735. De Thou had gone out as usual to hear mass on the morning of the 24th, and saw on his way the people dragging to the river the dead bodies of Jérôme Grollet, bailiff of Orleans, and of Caliste Garrault, both of whom were known to him. On this he returned home, and went no more abroad till the massacre was over. Christopher de Thou, the father of the great historian, was at this time First President of the Parliament of Paris, and was afterwards very generally regarded by the Protestants as having taken an active part in preparing and conducting the scheme of the court. His son, however, vindicates his memory from this imputation, and assures us that he never spoke of the St. Bartholomew but with horror, applying to it the verses of Statius :

“ Excidat illa dies aevo, ne postera credant

X

also did not shrink from the contemplation of the venerable nobleman's remains, as, naked, mutilated, and besmeared with all manner of defilement, they swung in their iron chain from that gallow-tree. Charles and his mother, attended by a numerous suite, came to view the hideous spectacle. As the King gazed on the carcass, one of the courtiers who accompanied him remarked that the smell of it was offensive:—"The body of a dead enemy," replied his majesty, repeating the expression of Vitellius at Cremona, "always smells sweet."

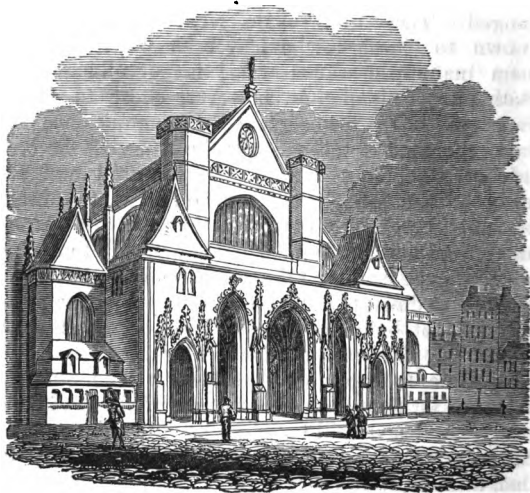
Such sights were a favourite enjoyment of Catherine and her son. After the massacre was over it became the object of the court, in order to rid itself of the odium attaching to so foul a treachery, to make it appear that the blood which had flown so profusely had been only shed in self-defence, inasmuch as a conspiracy of the Hugonots for the murder of the royal family and the seizure of the kingdom had been, in fact, on the eve of breaking out when its authors were thus suddenly overpowered and destroyed. The papers of Coligny had been examined in vain for anything which could be brought forward as affording even a shadow of proof of this pretended plot. Another expedient was therefore resorted to. Two eminent individuals of the Protestant persuasion, Cavagnes, a counsellor of the Parliament of Toulouse, and Briquemaut, a retired military officer of rank, both persons of venerable age, having been thrown into prison during the massacre, were brought to trial on the charge of having been implicated with the Admiral in the treason for which he had suffered death. The judges before whom they were brought in the first instance finding that no evidence was produced against them except the assertions of their accusers, had the courage to

*Secula: nos certe taceamus, et obruta multâ
Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis.*"—*Silv. v.*

refuse to declare them guilty. A more compliant tribunal however was subsequently found ; and after an unsuccessful attempt had been made to seduce them into a confession by a promise that their lives should be saved, sentence of death, confiscation of goods, and attainder, was pronounced against them. They were accordingly dragged on hurdles from the prison of the Conciergerie to the Place de Grève, and there hanged. These unfortunate persons had been well known to Charles, who had been wont to make them many professions of his favour and respect. Both he and his mother, however, chose to regale their eyes with the sight of the agonies of the dying men. For this purpose the King left the bedside of his young consort, the beautiful and admirable Elizabeth of Austria, who had that morning presented him with a daughter, the first fruit of their union, and also the last. Having arrived at an early hour in the evening at the Hôtel de Ville, the royal guests sat down to a sumptuous repast in the great hall of that building, the windows of which overlooked the place of execution. That the party might have time to enjoy the preliminary entertainment provided for them, the performance of the fatal ceremony was delayed till ten o'clock, although the grey-haired prisoners, sitting bound and bareheaded on their hurdles, were exposed during a great part of this interval to sufferings much worse than death from the pitiless outrages of the multitude around the scaffold. At last, at the hour we have mentioned, the windows of the hall were thrown open, and Charles, with his mother and his two brothers, having advanced in the midst of a blaze of torches, the executioner proceeded to his horrid task, while they looked on with fixed attention. In the celebrated diatribe against Catherine de Medicis, commonly ascribed to the pen of the younger Henry Stephens,

it is asserted that it was at his mother's instigation that Charles was induced to make the exhibition he did on this occasion *.

* *Discours Merveilleux de la Vie de Catharine de Medicis*, p. 97, à la Haye, 1663. This performance is also printed in the 3d volume of the *Mémoires de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX.*



Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois.

CHAPTER X.

MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW,—CONCLUDED.

ALTHOUGH the general carnage at Paris terminated after the first three days, individuals continued to be occasionally fallen upon and put to death nearly throughout the week. After the cessation of the massacre the city presented a hideous aspect. In many of the principal streets the stripped bodies and separated limbs of the slaughtered still lay putrefying on the ground. These disgusting relics crowded especially the banks of the river, along which a sort of market was established, where the relations of the dead might be seen bargaining for the corpses with those who had dragged them up from the river. Many, however, were carried down by the current beyond the bounds of the city; and by an extract which has been printed from the records preserved in the Hôtel de Ville, it appears that between the 5th and 13th of September no fewer than 1100 bodies were cast ashore and interred in the neighbourhood of St. Cloud, Auteuil, and Chaillot. Above a month elapsed before all the dead were removed from the streets; and even at the distance of more than a year bodies were occasionally found on the roofs of houses, in cellars, or other less-frequented places. The blood of Coligny is said to have remained distinguishable on the wall of his hôtel for more than a century. "There are old men still alive," says a French author, writing in 1826,

“ who affirm that they have known persons who had seen and touched that blood *.”

The numbers of those who perished in this terrible convulsion have, as was to be expected in a case so much open to conjecture, been very variously estimated. A Catholic historian (Perefixe) has carried the amount so high as 100,000 ; but the opinion of De Thou, who fixes it at about 30,000, is probably nearer the truth. In Paris De Thou says there were 2000 killed on the first day only ; and other authorities make the whole number who fell in this city before the termination of the massacre not less than 10,000. The Italian historian, Davila, who adopts this estimate, states that among the slain were five hundred lords, knights, and military officers of rank. Perefixe says there fell twenty lords of note, and twelve hundred gentlemen †. Ramus was the most distinguished literary character who was butchered ; but the celebrated critic, Dionysius Lambinus, who was also residing in Paris at this time, is said to have died soon after of the fright into which he was thrown.

Some of the most eminent, however, among the intended victims were fortunate enough, through various chances, to escape the fate which involved so many of their friends. We have already noticed the circumstance to which the lords and gentlemen lodged in the Faubourg-St.-Germain were indebted for their preservation. These persons, who belonged principally to Normandy and Poitou, had taken up their residence in this part of Paris, according to the Duc de Sully, not without some suspicion that they were likely to be quite as safe here as in the heart of the town. When pressed to remove to the other

* Histoire de la St. Barthélemy, 8vo, Paris, 1826, pp. 372, 375, 376.

† See upon this head the Edinburgh Review, vol. xlv. pp. 96, 112, 114, 115.

side of the river, they always replied that they found they agreed best with the air of the suburbs*. A few others were saved by having withdrawn from the capital altogether, before the fatal day, in consequence of the apprehensions they entertained, or by having declined to come thither at all. Among the former were the Sieur de Langoiran, who, before his departure, shrewdly remarked to Coligny himself that he ran away because he preferred being saved with the fools, to perishing with the wise. The Sieur de Rosny, the father of Sully, was so entirely of the same mind, that he looked upon his fellow Protestants who testified so much alacrity in repairing, on the royal invitation, to court, as actuated by nothing short of infatuation. In public he said little, seeing the slight regard his warnings were likely to meet with from the generality of his party; but when he found himself alone with Coligny and some others of his more intimate friends, he told them plainly what he thought, remarking that if the proposed marriage should ever take place the wedding-favours would probably be of rather a deep vermilion†. Accordingly, as soon as he had presented his son, Bethune, to the young Prince of Navarre, to whose service it had been agreed that he should be attached, the sagacious old man returned to his estate in the country.

Young Bethune, when thus placed in the suite of the master whom he so long and so ably served, was

* *Mémoires des Sages et Royales Economies*, par. I. chap. iv. In this chapter the author gives thirty-three reasons which ought to have made the Hugonots distrust the court before the massacre, having in that immediately preceding enumerated thirty-five which they apparently had for entertaining the opposite sentiment. The whole forms a curious specimen of that mode of examining a difficult question, which Franklin tells us he used to practise, and to which he has given the name of *Moral Algebra*.

† *Id.* chap. ii.

only in his twelfth year, and appears, as soon as he was left in Paris, to have proceeded to apply himself to the studies suited to his age, for which purpose his residence had been fixed on the south side of the river, in the neighbourhood of the colleges. On the night of Saturday, the 23d of August, he had gone to bed at an early hour, intending to rise next morning somewhat sooner than usual, to present himself at court; but about three o'clock he was awakened by the cries of the people in the streets, and the alarm-bells which were ringing from all the steeples. His governor and his valet-de-chambre had already both left the house to ascertain the nature of the commotion; and no one remained within except the landlord. The man was a Protestant; but in this emergency he earnestly urged his young lodger to accompany him to mass, to save the house from pillage and both of them from being massacred. Instead, however, of following this advice, Bethune resolved to endeavour to find his way to the College of Burgundy *, the principal of which, he was sure, would not refuse him an asylum. Accordingly, putting on his scholar's gown, and taking a book under his arm, he set out. In the Rue St. Jacques he was stopped by a party of soldiers, who were proceeding to use him roughly; but one of them having snatched from him the book which he carried, it luckily (*de bon heur*, is the expression in the text) turned out to be a breviary, if we are not rather to suppose that this particular volume had been judiciously selected by the boy from a presentiment of the service it might render him in such a case as the present. Be that as it may, the circumstance immediately procured him his liberty; he was allowed to proceed on his way, and when he was again detained in the Rue de la Harpe, and a third time at the entry to the cloister of St.

* It stood on the site of the present Ecole de Médecine.

Bennet, he found his book on both occasions his sufficient passport. As he hastened along, however, he beheld the mob everywhere breaking into and plundering the houses of the Hugonots, and, with the wildest cries, butchering indiscriminately men, women, and children—sights which could not fail to fill him with considerable impatience to reach his intended place of refuge. He at last arrived at the gate of the college; but here the porter resolutely refused for some time to give him admission. He contrived, however, to subdue the man's obstinacy by putting into his hand four testons, which he happened to have in his pocket; prevailed upon by which bribe, he consented to carry up his name and his request to the principal. That person, with a compassion and courage but rarely exemplified during this terrible crisis, immediately came to the gate and admitted his young friend, although greatly embarrassed how to dispose of him, in consequence of there being two priests at the moment in his chamber, who had just been telling him of the design that had been formed to exterminate the Hugonots, even to the infants at the breast, after the example, as they expressed it, of the Sicilian vespers. He contrived, however, to place Bethune in a secret apartment, where he lay concealed for three days, no one ever visiting him except a trusty servant of the principal, who brought him his food. At the end of this period, the general massacre being over, two armed men, sent by his father, arrived at the college to inquire after him; and after three days more he received a letter from his father, desiring him to remain at Paris, to proceed with his studies as before, and, in order that he might do so without danger, to go to mass, as his royal master and many others had consented to do*.

One or two others, as well as Navarre and Condé,

* *Mémoires*, chap. v.

were permitted to live by the forbearance of the authors of the massacre. The illustrious l'Hospital, who, although he continued in the profession of the ancient faith, was universally suspected to be very nearly a Protestant at heart, had resigned the chancellorship about four years before, and was at this time residing at his country seat not far from Paris. His friends, apprehensive for his safety, urged him either to fly or at least to put his house in a state of defence ; but conscious of no crime, the old man refused to do anything which might seem to have been dictated by a sense of guilt. Even when a party of horse was seen advancing upon his residence, he would not permit his gates to be closed against them. Fortunately, however, while these assailants were on the point of massacring him, another party arrived, bringing express orders from the King that his life should be spared. On being informed that it had been determined to pardon him, " I did not know," he coolly replied, " that I had done anything to deserve either pardon or punishment." The daughter of the ex-chancellor was at Paris during the time of the massacre ; and she also had the good fortune to save her life, through the protection of the Duchess of Guise.

Another person whom Charles spared of his own accord was his surgeon, Ambrose Paré, or Pareus, the same who has already been mentioned as having attended to dress the wounds of Coligny after the attempt to assassinate him by Maurevel. Paré, who was one of the most eminent members of his profession of whom that age could boast, lived, although a Protestant, in the enjoyment of the greatest familiarity with Charles, who, Brantôme tells us, on the evening before the massacre, sent for him, and placing him in a room near his own chamber, ordered him to remain there without stirring, remarking that it was

not reasonable that one so serviceable in saving the lives of others should lose his own*. Sully relates that, while the slaughter was going forward, his majesty endeavoured to persuade Paré to change his religion; on which the latter boldly replied, "By the light of God, Sire, I cannot doubt that you well remember having promised, as the conditions on which I engaged never to disobey you, that there were four things you would never ask me to do; namely, to return into my mother's womb, to be present at a battle, to quit your service, or to go to mass." The frank and gay tone of this answer seems to have put Charles in good humour; and Paré was allowed to retain his religion as well as his life. The same historian informs us that the King afterwards came to Paré, and confessed to him that ever since the commencement of the massacre he had felt as if he had been in a high fever, and that the figures of the murdered people, with their faces besmeared with blood, seemed to start up every moment before his eyes, both while he slept and while he was awake. On this Paré seized the opportunity of recalling the royal mind to sentiments different from those which had recently possessed it; and the consequence was the appearance of an edict next day, commanding all to abstain on pain of death from any further acts of slaughter or pillage†.

Few had a narrower escape from the St. Bartholomew than the celebrated Philip de Mornay, afterwards so well known both as a soldier, a politician, and an author. Although at this time only in his twenty-third year, De Mornay had already not only travelled over a great part of Europe, but had so much distinguished himself by his exertions, both with sword and pen, in the Protestant cause, as to

* Discours de Charles IX.

† Mémoires, chap. vi.

have in some sort taken his rank among the leaders of his party. Having returned to France from England about the end of July, he immediately proceeded to Paris to join Coligny and the other Hugonot gentlemen who had assembled to witness the royal marriage. Yet we are told he was far from being without apprehension as to the designs of the court; and felt so little sympathy with the prevailing feelings of his party, that on the day when the nuptial ceremony was performed he scarcely left his lodgings. On the following Friday (the 22d) he was preparing to return to his country-seat, and had taken leave of Coligny with that intention, when (as he was afterwards making a call upon another friend, M. de Foix, to bid him also adieu) his German servant came and informed him of the attempt that had just been made on the Admiral's life. On receiving this intelligence he immediately ran out to the street, and was one of those who accompanied the wounded old man to his hotel. From this moment his fears of some impending mischief became stronger than ever; but having made his mother, who had been with him, take her departure for the country without further delay, he resolved, notwithstanding her intreaties, to remain himself for some time longer in Paris, and to share the fate of his friends, whatever that might be. Following the example of many of the other Hugonot gentlemen, he now took apartments in the Rue de Bétizy, that he might be as near the Admiral as possible; but fortunately they could not be got ready for him before Monday, and he was therefore obliged to remain till then at his old lodgings, which were in the Rue St. Jacques, at the sign of the Golden Compass. On returning thither at a late hour on Saturday night from a visit to Coligny, he was informed that certain movements of arms had been observed among some of the citizens. Next morn-

ing, having despatched his German servant before five o'clock to the house of the Admiral, the man soon after returned, and gave him an account of the dreadful state in which that part of the city was. He rose instantly, and dressed himself with the intention of leaving the house; but before he could get ready the mob were in the street, and to attempt escape was impossible. Fortunately his landlord, although a Catholic, was disposed to do everything in his power to save him; and having just found time to burn his papers before the party who had been sent to seek for him found their way to his apartments, he was enabled to elude their search by concealing himself till they took their departure. That day he was not again molested; but on the following morning his landlord came to inform him that the frenzy of the populace had broken out anew, and that it was no longer in his power to shelter him. By this time the murderers were in the neighbouring house, the master of which, Odet Petit, a bookseller, they massacred, and afterwards threw his dead body out of one of the windows. On hearing this, De Mornay, putting on a black dress of a very plain fashion and his sword, immediately descended to the street, and had the good fortune to escape notice while the mob were still engaged in pillaging the adjacent house. Having crossed the river, he proceeded up the Rue St. Martin till he came opposite to the alley on the left called the Rue de Trousevache, not, however, having walked this considerable distance without being frequently exposed to the greatest danger. His intention was to take refuge here with an attorney of the name of Girard, who used to manage the affairs of his family, and would not, he trusted, refuse him an asylum. On arriving at the house, he found Girard himself standing at the door. The moment was a critical one, for the

captain of the watch was just passing. However, Girard had the presence of mind to receive him in such a manner as to occasion no suspicion. Having entered the house, he took his place at a desk, and employed himself in writing, like the other clerks. Unfortunately, however, the persons belonging to his household had conjectured that Girard's would be his hiding-place; and thither they came, one after the other, to seek for him or to share his retreat. This was soon remarked; and during the night an order came to Girard to deliver up the person whom he kept concealed in his house. To remain here longer, therefore, was impossible; and at an early hour in the morning he set out alone to endeavour to escape from the city, or to find some other place of retreat. As he was leaving the house, a young man who had been his clerk came up to him, and, greatly to his comfort, offered to get him out by the Porte St. Martin, where he was known to the soldiers on guard, having been formerly one of them. On reaching this gate, however, they found to their dismay that orders had been given that it should not be opened that morning. They were therefore obliged to proceed to the adjoining Porte St. Denis, with the guard of which the clerk had no more acquaintance than De Mornay himself, and where it does not appear that the latter was likely to derive any advantage whatever from the presence of his companion, if indeed the circumstance of that person being only in his slippers (which he had on their first setting out refused to take the trouble of exchanging for shoes) should not rather expose them both to greater risk of detention. However, to the Porte St. Denis they went; and after being questioned were actually allowed to pass, De Mornay having represented himself as an attorney's clerk, who had got leave from his master

to go during the vacation to Rouen, his native place, to see his relations. But the unlucky slippers were destined after all to work them the very mischief which De Mornay had feared. They had not been long gone when it occurred to one of the guard that this was rather a strange attire for a person about to make so distant a journey as to Rouen; and the man having mentioned his suspicions to his comrades, it was instantly resolved to despatch four armed men after the fugitives. They were overtaken by this party near the village of La Vilette, and immediately brought back in the hands of a mob of the country people, who could hardly be prevented from tearing De Mornay to pieces on the way. The clerk by his conduct added not a little to the danger—for, entirely losing his presence of mind, as they dragged his master along with the avowed intention of throwing him into the river, he swore vehemently that M. Duplessis, or, as he sometimes called him, M. de Buhy (these being actually the titular designations by which he was commonly known) was no Hugonot—thus effectually revealing who the captive was, if the persons to whom he addressed himself had not been rendered deaf or inattentive to his exclamations by their own fury and clamour. With more prudence, De Mornay himself merely remarked that he was convinced they would be sorry to put an innocent man to death from having mistaken him for another person; and assured them that, if they would take him into some house, he would give them such references to persons in the city as would satisfy them on inquiry that the account he had given of himself was correct. He at last prevailed upon them to comply with his request, and some of them accompanied him into a house in the suburbs; but now that he had obtained this reprieve he hardly knew how to avail himself of it. At first he

thought of throwing himself out of the window, but on reflection resolved to make an attempt to get out of their hands by sheer assurance; and, when they asked him for his promised references, he boldly named as persons to whom he was well known the Messieurs de Rambouillet, and the Cardinal, their brother. This he did, partly in the hope of overawing them somewhat by these imposing names, but principally because he knew they could not easily find access to personages of such rank, and would therefore, he imagined, be forced to take his asserted acquaintanceship upon trust. But those with whom he had to deal were not to be so put off. Considering, probably, that an attorney's clerk could hardly be altogether without some friends of lower degree than nobles and cardinals, they insisted upon his giving them other references. At this moment the waggon from Rouen made its appearance; and, as he had said that he belonged to that city, some one proposed to stop the vehicle in order to see if any of the persons in it knew anything of him. When they found that none of the passengers had ever heard of his name, their conviction that he was an impostor became more confirmed than ever; and the cry to have him thrown into the river was raised again with renewed violence. Some further contention, which we have not space to detail, consumed a little more time; and while they were yet wrangling, two messengers whom, on De Mornay's reference, they had sent to Girard returned with that person's answer. De Mornay had written an open note to him in these words, "Sir, I am detained by the people of the Porte and Faubourg of St. Denis, who will not believe that I am Philip Mornay, your clerk, to whom you have given leave to go to see his relations at Rouen during the vacation. I beg you will

certify to them the truth of this statement, that they may permit me to proceed on my journey." These directions were certainly explicit enough, and might have sufficed for a man of less sagacity than Girard appears to have been. On reading the note the attorney, who happened, we are told, to be a goodly looking personage, and to bear in his dress and general appearance an air of superior respectability, having first in a few words expressed his displeasure at the hindrance which his clerk had met with, wrote on the back of the paper the desired attestation, with an assurance that the individual in their hands was neither a rebel nor a seditious person, and subscribed his signature. A little boy belonging to the house, however, had nearly spoiled all by observing that the clerk they were inquiring after, had only been in his master's service since yesterday morning. Luckily this remark passed unnoticed by the two men; and quite convinced that De Mornay was really Girard's clerk, they hastened back to their companions, no doubt thinking they had very satisfactorily acquitted themselves of their mission. And such was the impression they produced on the rest by the account they gave of their reception, and the confirmation they brought of De Mornay's story, that the suspicions they had entertained were at once removed, and they immediately resolved not only to set him free, but, by way of making some amends for the unjust treatment he had received, to escort him back to the spot where they had apprehended him. He got out of their hands at last about nine o'clock, and lost no time in pursuing his journey. At Chantilly he obtained a horse from his friend Montmorency, one of the few who had escaped the massacre by leaving Paris in time under the apprehension of the impending treachery. At last, though not without some other

perils and "hair-breadth 'scapes," he arrived in safety at his estate of Buhy, in Normandy, on Friday; where, however, he found his family and establishment dispersed, his mother having been obliged to take refuge in the house of a neighbour. In the course of a few days he embarked at Dieppe for England; and, after encountering a severe storm, which at one time threatened to drive them back to Calais, and the terrors of which were augmented by the cries of numbers of women and children, flying, like himself, from the blood-drenched land of their birth, he reached the port of Rye on the ninth day after the massacre.

Such is the interesting narrative which has been given us by the wife of Duplessis-Mornay, in her memoir of her husband, only very recently published for the first time*. The writer adds that her husband had often told her that at the moment when he first heard that the massacre was going on, having lifted up his spirit to God, he conceived a firm assurance both that he should effect his escape, and that he should live to see the slaughter of his friends avenged. This excellent lady, then the widow of M. de Feuquieres, was also in Paris during the St. Bartholomew; and the dangers to which she was herself exposed were still more formidable than those undergone by the gentleman who afterwards became her husband. M. de Feuquieres had died of a wound received in battle about three years before, leaving with his young widow a daughter six months old, whom he had never seen. Soon after this Madame de Feuquieres received the news of the deaths of her father, M. de la Borde, of her sister, and of the father of her late husband. To add to her distresses, she had been stripped of all her property by the civil

* *Mémoires et Correspondence de Duplessis-Mornay*: Paris, 1824, tome i. pp. 37—46.

confusions of the time, and was almost without the means of existence. This load of suffering broke down her health, which she never afterwards entirely recovered. At length, on the conclusion of the peace of 1570, she came to Paris with her daughter, on the invitation of her mother, who continued in the profession of the ancient religion, although the rest of the family had embraced the principles of the Reformation. From this time Madame de Feuquieres had remained in the French capital.

On the morning of the Sunday on which the massacre commenced, she was still in bed in her lodgings in the Rue St. Antoine, when one of her maid-servants, who was a Protestant, came running into her room in a state of great terror, to inform her that in the heart of the town, where she had just been, the mob were killing every body. Without feeling any great alarm, Madame de Feuquieres, who had intended to go that day to the Louvre to take leave of the Princess of Condé, and some others of her friends, preparatory to her proposed departure on Monday to spend the winter with one of her sisters in the country, rose, and put on part of her dress, when, looking from her window, she perceived the whole street in commotion. Parties of military were mixed with the crowd, and all wore white crosses in their hats. Convinced now of the reality of the danger, she had already sent off to her mother, with whom her brothers also lived, to inquire what was the meaning of the disturbance; when a message was brought her from her maternal uncle, the Bishop of Senlis, who desired her to put out of the way whatever articles she had of greatest value, and promised that he would immediately send some one to find her. This, however, the Bishop either found it impossible or forgot to do, having learned that his own brother had been killed in the Rue de Béti-zy,

along with the other Hugonot gentlemen lodged around the hotel of the Admiral, and having afterwards been arrested himself by the mob while attempting to make his way through the streets, and placed in considerable jeopardy, probably on account of his Protestant connections. After waiting, therefore, for about half an hour, Madame de Feuquieres, seeing the rioters fast approaching, deemed it best to send off her daughter by a female servant to a M. de Perreuze, who held the office of Master of Requests in the royal household, and who was her relation and one of her best friends. This gentleman received the child into his house, which was in the *Vielle Rue du Temple*, by a back door, and also sent to its mother to say that, if she chose, he would give her too an asylum. Madame de Feuquieres gladly accepted this offer; and, leaving her lodgings for that purpose about eight o'clock, had scarcely gone, when a party of the mob entered the house in search of her. When they could not find their expected victim, they proceeded to pillage the house. In the mean time the other Protestant friends of M. de Perreuze came one after the other to request the protection of his roof; till at length the number of persons, with their families and servants, who were concealed in the house amounted to above forty. Lest suspicion might be excited by the purchase of the unusual quantity of victuals required for so many guests, M. de Perreuze sent for what articles he wanted to another part of the town; and he and his wife also took their station together at the front door of the house, to be ready to exchange a few words with the conductors of the different pillaging parties as they passed. All these precautions, however, proved eventually insufficient to ward off the apprehended danger. On Tuesday it was ordered that the house should be searched. By this time, fortunately, the greater number of those who

had crowded to it on the first breaking out of the massacre had left it and taken refuge elsewhere ; so that there only remained Madame de Feuquieres and another lady, with their attendants. In the extremity which had now arrived Madame de Feuquieres was concealed in a loft above a granary, where, as her ears were pierced by the wild cries of the men, women, and children, whom they were butchering in the streets, she was thrown, she tells us, into such perplexity and despair that she was at times tempted to rush down from her hiding-place and deliver herself up at once into the hands of the infuriated populace. What principally distracted her was the thought of her daughter, whom she had been obliged to leave below in the charge of a servant. This person, however, succeeded in conveying the child, through the midst of numerous dangers, to the house of a relation of Madame de Feuquieres, with whom it remained in safety. But it was now judged advisable that its mother also should as soon as possible leave her present asylum. It was impossible for her to venture to her mother's residence, as a guard, she learned, had been placed around the house. She therefore resolved, as her only resource, to throw herself upon the compassion of a person who had some time before married one of her maid-servants, and who was now captain of the watch in his quarter, and in that character one of the commissioned agents of the massacre. The man, contrary to what might have been expected, gave her admission ; and permitted her to remain in his house all the night, although not without making her listen to many violent invectives against the Hugonots, and insisting with her in warm terms that she would find herself obliged to go to mass. On the following day at noon she left this retreat, and set out to find her way to the house of the President Tambonneau, in the cloister of Nôtre

Dame, who had been advertised of her situation by her mother, and solicited to afford her protection. She effected her entry into the house without being observed ; and, being placed in M. de Tambonneau's study, she remained there unmolested during the rest of that day and the greater part of the next. On the evening of Thursday, however, information reached the family that the mob were about to visit them. There was not a moment to be lost ; and the hunted fugitive was again transferred to the house of a corn-merchant, an acquaintance of her protector's, and a person on whose fidelity they could reckon. Here she remained till the following Wednesday—being concealed all the time in an upper chamber immediately over one tenanted by a Catholic lady, for fear of being discovered by whom, or by any of the neighbours, she neither dared to step along the floor, nor even to light a candle. Her food was brought to her by one of the females of the family, who concealed it in her apron, and pretended that she went up to get some linen for the lady below. During this time her mother had sent to implore her to go to mass ; but to that proposal she steadily refused to yield. At last she determined to make an attempt by herself to escape from Paris ; and on Wednesday, about eleven o'clock in the morning, descending from her lurking-hole, she walked down to the river and stepped on board a boat, which was going to Sens, and in which she had caused a place to be taken for her the day before. She soon, however, found herself exposed to more imminent danger than ever. When they reached the Pont de la Tournelle, the boat was stopped by the guard, and their passports demanded from those on board ; the rest shewed theirs, but Madame de Feuquieres had none. On this the soldiers, eagerly exclaiming that she was a Hugonot and must be

drowned, made her come out of the boat. Seeing herself thus on the point of being put to death, she besought them to conduct her to the house of M. de Voisenon, Auditor of Accounts, who was one of her friends, assuring them that he would answer for her. They at last agreed to comply with her request, and two of their number were sent with her to the residence of the gentleman whom she named. When they arrived at the house the soldiers, fortunately for the success of her scheme, remained at the door, and allowed her to walk up stairs alone. She had thus an opportunity of hastily intimating to M. de Voisenon the situation in which she was, and intreating his interference to save her life. On hearing her account, he immediately went down to the soldiers, and assured them that he had often seen the person they had brought to him in the house of Madame d'Eprunes, the mother of the Bishop of Senlis, whose family were well known to the good Catholics. The men however told him it was not about Madame d'Eprunes and her family they came to inquire of him, but about the female now present. To this all that M. de Voisenon could venture to reply was, that he had known her to be a good Catholic formerly, but what she might be now he could not say. Luckily, at this point of the conversation, a woman who was known to the soldiers came up, and asked them what they were going to do with the person they had got in their hands. 'Pardieu,' they answered, 'she is a Hugonot and must be drowned, for we see she is frightened.' 'Why,' replied the woman, 'you know me; I am no Hugonot; I go to mass every day; and yet I have been so frightened that for these eight days past I have been in a fever.' 'In truth,' exclaimed one of the soldiers on this, 'I have been in the same state myself.' The two men at last consented to conduct

their prisoner back to the boat, merely remarking, as they put her again on board, that if she had been a man she should not have escaped so easily.

We must sum up very briefly the remaining hazards which Madame de Feuquieres ran in effecting her escape. The house of the corn-merchant, in which she had lain so long concealed, was pilaged, she tells us, immediately after she left it. At the place where they put on shore for the night there was only one sleeping-chamber in the inn to which they repaired, and she was obliged to sleep in the same bed with two other women, whose suspicions she greatly feared would be excited by a fine holland shirt, trimmed with lace, which she wore, ill as it suited the rest of her attire, which was that of a servant. Her apprehensions here, however, proved vain. On Thursday she left the boat, and under the conduct of a person who had been sent to meet her by Madame de Tombonneau, proceeded on foot to Vignay, the residence of the Chancellor l'Hospital, being a distance of about five leagues. They found the Chancellor's house occupied by the guard which the King had sent for his protection; and Madame de Feuquieres therefore resolved to take up her residence in the house of his vinedresser, a poor man, who, although a Catholic, treated her with the kindest hospitality. Here she remained for fifteen days, during which time the soldiers came to the village searching every suspected house; but they were prevented from entering that in which she was concealed, in consequence of its being considered under the protection of the Chancellor's guard. At last, when matters seemed to be somewhat tranquillized, she set out on her ass, accompanied by the vinedresser, to Eprunes, a property belonging to her grandmother, which she reached in safety. She was received here as one returned from the dead. From this she went

at the end of a fortnight to Buhy, now in the possession of her eldest brother. Here she was exposed to new persecutions—her brother, who had himself saved his life by consenting to go to mass, being still so alarmed that he refused to allow her to remain in his house on her persisting in declining to accompany him to chapel. With a very scanty supply of money, therefore, she was obliged once more to set out on her travels ; and taking on this occasion the road to Sedan, she arrived safely in that city on the first of November, and received the warmest welcome, and the supply of all her wants, from numerous friends, most of whom had like herself taken refuge here after escaping from the Parisian massacre. Madame de Feuquieres continued to reside in Sedan till her marriage with M. Duplessis-Mornay in January 1576.

Another individual who has left us a relation by his own pen of his escape from the St. Bartholomew, is the Sieur de Mergey. The piece of autobiography in which this account is to be found, and which was completed, as the writer informs us in his concluding sentence, on the third of September 1613, when he was in the seventy-seventh year of his age, was first printed at the end of Camusat's *Melanges Historiques*, published at Troyes in 1619. Mergey had for some time attached himself to the service of the Count de Rochefoucauld, and had come up with his master to Paris on the general assembling of the Hugonot gentry previous to the royal marriage. During the week of festivities which followed the performance of that ceremony, he had received such intimations of the impending danger as induced him on the Thursday to mention his apprehensions to the Count, and to urge him to lose no time in quitting the capital. But, although evidently not without

suspensions and fears of his own, Rouchefoucauld, with the indecision shared by so many of his friends, appears to have felt it almost in vain to make any attempt to fly from his fate. "I think," said he, "that I shall not pass the winter in Paris." "But I wish," replied Mergey, "you would act as well as think." The next day the assassination of the Admiral spread general alarm among the Protestants; but their confidence in the friendship and protection of the Court was rather increased than otherwise by the show of grief and resentment assumed on this occasion by his majesty. "*Le roy*," says Mergey, "*fit grand semblant d'estre fort merry (marri) de tel accident*." Rouchefoucauld was one of those who on the following day left their customary places of residence for other apartments near the Admiral, in the Rue de Bétizy. The lodgings which were here assigned to him, we are told, had neither furniture, host, nor hostess. He seems, however, to have become so effectually alarmed by this time as to be determined to occupy them, desolate and comfortless as they were. He deemed himself, it appears, likely to be safer here than even within the walls of the royal palace—if we are not, in saying so, wronging his courage and sense of duty, which perhaps may have dictated to him that his proper post was among the other gentlemen of his party who were assembled around their wounded chief. Mergey, and Chamont, another person of the Count's train, overheard the words which passed between the King and their master when the latter was taking his leave at the close of this day from the royal presence. His majesty made an attempt to detain him within the palace. "Foucauld," said he (the name by which he was familiarly wont to call him), "don't go away; it is now late; let us trifle away (*baliverne-*

rons) the rest of the night." "That cannot be," replied the Count, "I must go to bed, and sleep." "You shall sleep," said his majesty, "with my valets de-chambre." But Rochefoucauld was not to be persuaded;—in a tone of badinage, indicating, like the rest of the conversation, the intimacy and seeming friendship which had hitherto subsisted between this nobleman and his young sovereign, he declined his offered hospitality—and with the words "*Adieu, mon petit maitre,*" he left the room. He went first to the chamber of the Princess Dowager of Condé, with whom he spent nearly an hour. From thence he proceeded to the apartment of the King of Navarre; and, having bid him also good night, took his way down stairs. When he reached the bottom of the stairs a man in black came up to him, and made him some communication, which induced him first to send Mergey back to Henry's apartment with a message to the effect that he understood some mischief was in preparation on the part of the Guises, and afterwards to return himself to converse with Henry on the matter. On this occasion Rochefoucauld was accompanied by Nancey, the captain of the guard, who probably affected to feel as much anxiety as himself on the subject of the apprehended disturbances. This person, Mergey tells us, as they were in the royal bedchamber, lifted up the tapestry which divided that apartment from the Garderobe, and stood for a considerable time looking at and counting the gentlemen of Henry's retinue who crowded the latter, and were all still employed in conversing or otherwise amusing themselves. It was the tiger eyeing the prey upon which he was about to spring.

Rochefoucauld and Nancey descended the stairs together. When they reached the court, they found the royal guards, Swiss, Scotch, and French, already

drawn up in order for fight. Their array extended from the stair leading up to the great hall to the gate opening on the street. Here sat M. de Rambouillet, the captain of the gate, on a small wooden block or stool, close to the wicket, which alone was opened when any one had to pass. This gentleman was an old comrade and friend of Mergey's, who remarked that he bid him adieu as they went out with an accent deeply expressive both of affection and sorrow.

When the Count reached his lodgings in the Rue de Bétizy, Mergey and Chamont proposed to remain with him during the night; but he would not allow them. His friend, the Sieur de Coulaines, however, came to sleep in the room with him, for which purpose he had caused his straw bed and a mattress (*sa pailleasse et un matras*) to be brought from his own house. Mergey and Chamont withdrew to a lodging which had been marked out for them in another part of the same street. It was a chamber at this time in the occupation of a joiner, but properly forming a portion of the appurtenances of a large mansion in which the attendants of the Princess of Condé resided, although at present having no communication with the rest of the building. It happened to be almost exactly opposite to Coligny's hotel. Mergey and his companion had scarcely stepped into bed, when they were startled by the sudden noise of the attack on the residence of the Admiral. The former instantly rose and dressed himself in all haste. Chamont was thrown into such agitation as to be at first almost incapable of doing anything, and the other was obliged to assist him to put on his clothes. Mergey then proposed that they should go down to the street; but Chamont fortunately, as it afterwards turned out, suggested that it would be better to remain for a little time where they were until they could learn what course the commotion was likely to take.

As they listened they heard what seemed to them to be the breaking in of doors, while the general uproar was growing louder and louder. Mergey at last ventured to put his head out from a window which looked down into the court of the great house ; and there he saw two men, whom he knew to be Hugonots and domestics of the princess, evidently in great astonishment and perturbation. Having observed an old lath lying on the ground, he requested one of the men to set it up against the window ; and by this he and Chamont descended to the court.

Mergey now asked one of the men, who happened to be the princess's butler, and who, he thought, might on that account, and from his having been formerly in the service of the Duke of Lorraine, venture himself without much danger among the rioters, to go forth to the street and try if he could obtain any intelligence respecting the Count de la Rochefoucauld. The man set off on this errand ; but soon returned, glad to have escaped with his life. In consequence of being without the white cross on his hat and his sleeves, he had been seized by the persons in the street as a Hugonot, and only with difficulty obtained his liberty by appealing to them in the name of his mistress. Mergey, however, having cut the necessary decorations for him from a piece of white paper, prevailed upon him by the bribe of a couple of crowns to make a second attempt. Accordingly, after a very short absence, he returned and stated that the Count had effected his escape ; but how he could give no information. As it was evident that no dependence was to be placed on this story, Mergey gave the man two other crowns, and requested him to endeavour to procure him some more certain intelligence respecting the fate of his master. When he came back this time he brought a confirmation of Mergey's worst fears. He had seen the dead body

of the Count lying stripped at the gate of the house in which he had been lodged, and beside it, two other bodies in the same condition, the one of which he said was that of La Rochefoucauld's son, the Count de Marcillac, and the other that of a tall, red-haired man, whose name he had not learned. As M. de Marcillac's lodgings, however, had been near the Porte St. Martin, fully a quarter of a league off, Mergey thought it probable that the body supposed to be his was that of another person; and upon more closely questioning his informant, and learning from him that it was under the usual size, with a black beard, and one leg shorter than the other, he at once recognized it as that of a domestic of the Count's. The tall, red-haired man was another of the murdered nobleman's servants.

"I was still in the court," continues de Mergey, "and standing near to the gate, that I might hear the better what was going on in the street, when, as a party of cavalry rode past, I heard the Duke of Guise ask some one, Who lodged in that house? To which the other replied that it was the suite of Madame the Princess. 'Oh,' said the Duke, 'then we have no business there;' which rejoiced me greatly. I then returned into our lodgings; and soon after the landlord arrived. He was captain of his quarter, and had just come from taking his share in the massacre. Knowing who we were, he said he was very sorry for what had fallen out, that he did not approve of it, and that he would render us all the service he could; but, as it had been ordered that every house should be visited, and commissioners had been appointed for that purpose, if we should be found under his roof it might bring him into trouble. He would place us, however, he added, if we chose, in the church of St. Thomas of the Louvre, from whence we might afterwards make our escape. I thanked

him warmly for his kindness ; and, seeing that Heaven had preserved us till now, I said that I had strong hopes it would still continue to befriend us, if he should not prove our enemy. This he promised that he would not, and then went away *."

It does not, however, appear by De Mergey's narrative that he actually left his present place of concealment. He only says that, not wishing to remain here always, and having learned that M. de Marcillac was saved and had been conveyed by his governor to the house of a M. de Lansac, in the Rue St. Honoré, he became anxious to join him. He therefore despatched his valet Vinat to supplicate the young Count to find some means of transporting him from his retreat in safety. His messenger however soon returned to him, stating that M. de Lansac's porter refused to admit him. On this, he despatched him a second time, with a piece of paper folded as a letter ; and on applying again at the gate, and stating that he brought letters to a Mademoiselle de Barrault who resided in the house, he was allowed to pass. On finding the lady he had named, "My man told her," says De Mergey, "that to make his way into the house he had been constrained to tell a little lie (*mentir un petit*), and that it was I in truth who had sent him to the Count to give him intelligence of me, and to inform him where I was." He was immediately conducted to M. de Marcillac, by whom he was recognized at once, and who, on learning the desire with the expression of which De Mergey had charged him, besought the Sieur de la Rochette, who had been placed beside him as a sort of guardian or spy, to procure for him, if possible, the society of that faithful servant of his late father. Rochette agreed to comply with his prayer, and, setting out immediately in quest of De Mergey, soon

* Mémoires du Sieur de Mergey, p. 22.

found the house where he was. "When he reached the door of the room," says De Mergey, "he began to address me in a rough and threatening voice, merely calling out *Allons!* without another word. As for me, ignorant as I yet was that he came from the Count, while I knew on the other hand that he was a great enemy of the Protestants, I fully expected to go not over but under the Millars' bridge* as an infinite number of other persons had done. I made him a great and profound obeisance, whereupon, with a roar like that of a Rodomonte†, and twice as loud as before, he called out to me again, *Allons! allons!* I then asked him if he would allow me to take my sword, when he replied, "Certainly; if any one were to attack you, would you not like to defend yourself?" "Yes," answered I, "and that right heartily." Then softening his voice, he said to me with a laugh, "Come away, come away, the Count desires to see you." On this I made him a more profound obeisance than before, and with better heart too; and taking my sword, and a halbert which one of his companions gave me, (for he had six or seven persons with him, as I had perceived, not a little to my surprise at first,) we set out to find the Count. He, as soon as he beheld me, threw himself around my neck, and held me a long time clasped in his arms, without being able to utter a single word for tears and sobs, while I myself was in the same condition‡."

De Mergey continued to reside with his young master for about a fortnight, during which time he

* The *Pont aux Meuniers*, or *Millars' Bridge*, was an old wooden bridge over the Seine, near the present Pont au Change. It was carried away by the waters of the river in 1596, when 150 persons, whose houses stood upon it, lost their lives.

† The name of a braggart in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*; whence our word *Rodomontade*.

‡ *Mémoires du Sieur de Mergey*, p. 23.

and M. de la Costa, the governor, succeeded in recovering a quantity of silver plate of which La Rochefoucauld's house had been pillaged during the massacre, and all his horses. The King, he informs us, now paid the utmost court to the young Count, caressing him and talking to him with the most marked familiarity; but he received intimation, nevertheless, that it would be necessary for him to dismiss all his Hugonot servants. De Mergey, having received a passport, now set out for Verteil in Angoumois, the residence of the Abbé de Marmoutier, his late master's brother. He reached the house, at the head of a retinue of his fellow servants, at eight in the morning, and before M. de Marmoutier had left his chamber. "Knowing that we were arrived," continues De Mergey, "he was afraid to come out for fear of seeing us. At last, passing near to us, sobbing aloud, but without uttering a word, he went into another chamber, and throwing himself on a bed gave free vent to his tears and lamentations. After some time he sent for me to come to him alone. I entered the room and saluted him; and then, after his grief had moderated a little, he made me relate to him at length all that passed on the day of the massacre, and how his brother had been killed; and when I had finished, he remained for a long time without speaking a word, and then heaving a heavy sigh he cried out, "O traitor, this is not what thou didst promise me*!" It was to Charles himself, there can be little doubt, that this bitter apostrophe was addressed.

But perhaps the most extraordinary deliverance from the St. Bartholomew, of which an account has come down to us, was that of the Marshal de la Force. The historian Mezeray had given an inaccurate notice of the circumstances of this event,

* Mémoires du Sieur de Mergey, p. 24.

which Voltaire versified and introduced into his *Henriade*. The latter writer, however, afterwards had an opportunity of inspecting the Marshal's own *Memoirs* of his life (which have since been printed), and in a subsequent edition of his poem he inserted in a note a more correct version of the story, as derived from this source. The *Sieur de la Force*, the father of the Marshal, was one of the Protestant gentlemen who were lodged, when the massacre broke out, in the *Faubourg St. Germain*. The first notice he received on the morning of the fatal Sunday of what was passing in the city, was from a person, who had, it appears, swam across the river to apprise him of his danger. There were living with *La Force* his two sons, the youngest of whom, afterwards the Marshal, was now in his thirteenth year. Had the father thought but of his own safety, he probably might have been able, like many of his friends, to have effected his escape; but some time was lost in getting his two boys in readiness to fly along with him, and before they had left the house it was broken into by the murderers. A man of the name of *Martin* was at the head of the party, who, having made his men instantly disarm their prisoners, addressing himself to *La Force*, told him with the most violent oaths that his last moment was come. On *La Force*, however, offering him two thousand crowns to save the lives of himself and his children, the ruffian and his band agreed to accept of this bribe. After having pillaged the house, they desired the father and his two sons to tie their handkerchiefs in the form of crosses around their hats, and to turn up the right sleeves of their coats; and then they all set out together. The river, as they crossed it, was already covered with dead bodies; and the same frightful tokens of the tragedy acting around them strewed the courts of the *Louvre* and the other places

through which they passed. At last they arrived at Martin's house in the Rue des Petits Champs (to the north of the Rue St. Honoré); and here, La Force having been first bound by an oath not to attempt to withdraw either himself or his sons until he should have paid the two thousand crowns, he and they were left in the charge of two Swiss soldiers.

Madame de Brissembourg, the sister-in-law of La Force, who resided in the Arsenal, of which her relation, the Marshal de Biron, was grand master, upon being applied to for the money to pay the promised ransom, engaged to send the requisite sum by the evening of the following day. La Force and his sons were therefore obliged to remain till then where they were. At last, when the appointed time arrived, a messenger was despatched for the money; but while he was yet absent, the Count de Coconas suddenly presented himself at the head of a party of soldiers, bringing orders, as he said, to conduct the prisoners immediately to the Duke of Anjou. He had no sooner intimated the purpose of his visit, than his men, laying hold of the father and his sons, pulled off their bonnets and mantles; and by the rough manner in which they used them, afforded them a sufficient presage of the fate prepared for them. They led them, however, as far as to the end of the street entering the Rue St. Honoré without offering them any violence; but on arriving here the assassins halted, and making a sudden assault upon them, despatched first the eldest son, and the next instant the father, by multiplied blows with their daggers. By a singular chance, the youngest, whose name was Jacques Nompars, in the confusion of the encounter escaped untouched; the wildly directed strokes of the murderers having all missed him and fallen upon his father and his brother. He had the

presence of mind, however, to throw himself down on the ground beside them, and as he lay bathed in their blood, to call out that he was mortally wounded ; and then to counterfeit the appearance of death. The murderers, supposing their deed done, after hastily stripping the three bodies left the spot. It was not long before a number of the neighbours approached ; and among the rest, a poor man, a marker belonging to the tennis-court in the Rue du Verdelet. This person, on beholding the body of the youngest son, happened to remark, loud enough for his words to reach the ear of the boy, " Alas ! this one is but a mere child !" On hearing these expressions of compassion, young La Force ventured gently to raise his head and to whisper that he was still alive. The man, on this, desired him to remain still for a little longer, till he could come to remove him without being observed. As soon as every body was out of sight he returned ; and, throwing an old ragged cloak over the boy, he took him on his back and set out with him for his own house. Some persons whom he met on the way having asked him who it was he was carrying, " It is my nephew," said he, " who has got drunk ; I shall give him a good whipping this evening." He soon got home to his garret with his burden, and here La Force spent the night. On the morning of the following day ('Tuesday) his preserver, at his request, agreed to conduct him to the Arsenal, the boy gladly engaging to pay him thirty crowns for this service. They set out together at break of day, and in a short time reached the gate of the Arsenal without having met with any interruption. The difficulty now was for La Force (in the beggarly dress in which he was) to get into the inside of the building ; but, leaving his guide without, he at last found an opportunity, when the gate was opened for the admission of another person,

to pass through without being observed by the porter. He met nobody till he reached the part of the building in which his aunt resided. When Madame de Brissembourg beheld him, her astonishment and emotion were extreme; for she had been already informed that all the three had perished. The thirty crowns were immediately sent out to the poor tennis-marker; and La Force was put to bed that he might recover from the effects of the terror and agitation he had undergone. He remained concealed in the Arsenal for the two following days; but at the end of this time, information was brought to Marshal Biron, that the building was about to be searched, by order of the King, in consequence of reports that were in circulation of some Hugonots having taken refuge in it. It was deemed advisable, therefore, that he should be immediately transferred to some other hiding-place; and accordingly, on Thursday morning, being attired as a page, he was confided to the care of a M. Guillon, controller of artillery, who, however, was only informed that he was the son of his late friend M. de Beaupuy, and that having been newly brought up to Paris it was merely wished that he should be taken charge of, till the confusion, in which the city at present was, should have subsided. He remained with M. Guillon seven or eight days; when, even at that distance of time after the massacre, the report of his singular escape having got abroad, fears were still entertained that an attempt would be made to gain possession of him. By some management, however, it was contrived to convey him beyond the walls of the capital; and after several other hazardous adventures, he was fortunate enough on the eighth day from his leaving Paris to reach the house of his father's brother, the Sieur de Caumont, near Mirande, in the south of France, by whom he was received with "so

great joy and contentment," says the original narrative, "as is not to be believed." The boy thus miraculously rescued from the jaws of destruction, and who eventually rose, as has been mentioned, to the rank of Marshal, lived for more than eighty years after his singular escape, having died at the age of ninety-four in 1658, probably one of the last survivors of the bloody scene in which he had so nearly perished.

No merely general description could convey either so curious or so correct a representation of the St. Bartholomew as do these narratives of individual adventure. They set before us more vividly and more truly than even the eloquence of De Thou himself, the unrestrained riot of the slaughterers, the furious excitement and fever of public opinion, and the bewilderment and dismay of the unhappy beings who were scattered before the whirlwind of the popular wrath.—Such then was this famous Massacre, "the judgment passed upon which, at the time," says the great historian we have just named, "by all reflecting persons even least favourable to Protestantism, was that no example of any such enormous atrocity could be found in the national annals of all antiquity *." Nor shall we think these expressions exaggerated, when we view in their full dimensions certain of the more remarkable characteristics of the transaction—its elaborate treachery—the royal and female hands that washed themselves in the bloodshed—the hour of reconciliation and festive rejoicing in which the victims were attacked—the number of the noble, the beautiful, and the virtuous, who perished—the indiscriminate and unsparing comprehensiveness, the wild fury, the savage cruelty, the abominable brutality and extravagance of outrage, carried, in

* *Historia*, Lib. LIII. cap. i.

many cases, not only beyond the extinction of the last throb of life, but to the utmost limits of humiliation and disfigurement, with which the slaughtering knife was made to do its office. The whole story is a terrific illustration of what human nature is capable of becoming and of perpetrating under the spur of bigotry and religious hatred, aided by the hardening and depraving influence of barbarous institutions and manners ; but we should be giving ourselves up, in some degree, to the very spirit which animated the sanguinary mob whose excesses we have been recounting, were we to charge the Catholic religion in particular with the crimes committed on this occasion by those who happened to be its votaries. Enormities, such as those we have been contemplating, have no more natural connexion with the peculiar dogmas of the Catholic than they have with those of the Protestant form of faith. They flow from such an excess of religious zeal as amounts in fact to a perversion of the spirit of all religion (which is that of love and mercy) into one of the very opposite character. The general opinion of the Catholic world, as we have just found De Thou recording, condemned the Parisian massacre from the first in terms as decided as any employed by the Protestants themselves ; and with a very few exceptions, writers of that persuasion, down to our own day, have continued to shew themselves as eager as any other, in expressing their detestation of this foulest and bloodiest treachery of ancient or modern times.

CHAPTER XI.

PLACE LOUIS XV.

Formation of Place Louis XV.—Statue of Louis XV.—Accident at Marriage of Louis XVI.—Revolution of 1789 breaks out in Place Louis XV.—Executions here during the Revolution—Execution of Louis XVI.

ON the conclusion of the general peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the city of Paris resolved to present a statue to the reigning King Louis XV. It was this circumstance which gave occasion to the formation of the magnificent square called the *Place Louis Quinze*. The ground on which it stands was at this time a shapeless and unoccupied waste—forming a singularly uncharacteristic place of passage between the splendid garden of the palace and the not less beautiful Champs Elysées beyond, and breaking the continuity of what was otherwise one of the most prolonged and harmonious vistas of richly ornamented landscape. But in 1763, when the statue was finished, it was determined to convert this spacious opening into a place for its reception, and operations were immediately commenced for levelling the ground and reducing it to a regular form. The statue—a representation in bronze of the king on horseback, supported by four virtues—was fixed in the centre of the new *Place* on the 19th of April that year, and uncovered to the public view on the 20th of June following. The buildings around the square were begun about the same time, but were not finished till 1772. And it was not till 1784 that the wooden fence which had been ori-

ginally raised around the statue, was taken down, and replaced by a balustrade of white marble. This statue, when it was first erected, drew forth many smart sayings from the wits of the capital, in allusion both to the disposition and the execution of the figures, of which those forming the pedestal were very inferior to that of the king which they supported. Of these pasquinades the following is still remembered as one of the most stinging :

“ O la belle statue ! ô le beau piédestal !
Les Vertus sont à piéd, le Vice est à cheval ! ”

Before the Place Louis XV. was quite finished, it was the scene of a catastrophe, memorable for the number of victims it involved, and for the remarkable occasion of national festivity and rejoicing, over which it threw so sudden and inauspicious a gloom. Never perhaps had any royal marriage been hailed with gladder expectations than that of the unfortunate Louis XVI., then Dauphin and heir of France, with the beautiful daughter of Maria Theresa, which was celebrated at Versailles on the 16th of May, 1770. Even on that day, however, the superstitious, it is recorded, were not unvisited by certain misgivings and fears when, during the performance of the nuptial ceremony, a violent storm burst upon Versailles, accompanied by so heavy a rain as almost to inundate the town. But at Paris, a few days afterwards, the earth was drenched, not with water, but with blood. On the 30th various festive spectacles were exhibited in the capital in honour of the recent nuptials ; and the day was concluded by a magnificent display of fireworks in the Place Louis XV., which attracted a multitude that filled to overflowing the whole of that capacious square. As soon as this show was over, the immense mass of spectators, separating into different bodies, sought to leave the

ground by the various openings which led from it ; but by far the largest portion endeavoured to effect their retreat through the broad street, the Rue Royale, leading directly to the northern Boulevards and the adjacent parts of the city. Here shortly commenced a terrible scene. The buildings on both sides of the street were still going on ; and in some places merely the foundations had been dug for houses which were not yet begun. By the lamentable negligence of the authorities these openings in the ground had been allowed to remain uncovered and unfenced, while elsewhere heaps of building materials lay about in all directions. When the foremost ranks of the crowd therefore, pressed upon by those behind, poured in upon the street in a voluminous wave, many of the miserable people, encountering these pitfalls and other obstacles, were instantly thrown down in the rush, and trodden into the earth, or buried beneath numbers of other bodies falling after them into the same trench. To augment the pressure and confusion, many persons, not aware that the show was over, or anxious perhaps to obtain the places of those whom they saw leaving the ground, still continued to move towards the square, some on foot and some in carriages, and thus, even where the way was otherwise clear, blocked it up with their opposing current. The tumult and consternation now became universal. The cries of young and old, and of both sexes, rent the air ; and despair and madness took possession of the mighty multitude. Every individual strove for himself with frenzied and superhuman energy ; the strong, although even the strongest could do but little to aid themselves in such a struggle, yet endeavoured recklessly to force their way forward over the bodies of their weaker companions ; many drew their swords, and, extending their arms by a wild effort over the shoulders

of those around them, attempted to hack out for themselves a path of escape by repeated blows with their weapons on the dense mass of their fellow-sufferers. The destruction of life which took place on this occasion was never correctly ascertained. The number of those killed on the spot is allowed, by the lowest estimate, to have exceeded three hundred; of whom above one hundred and thirty still lay stretched on the ground, or were found crushed among the foundations of the buildings, when the police visited the scene next morning; but it has been calculated that at least twelve hundred persons died almost immediately of their wounds, while probably a much greater number, who for some time survived the catastrophe, were eventually brought to their graves by the injuries they then received.

It was in the Place Louis XV. that the Revolution of 1789 may be said to have first broken out. It was here, at least, that the first of the blood was shed that flowed in that terrible convulsion. On the morning of the 12th July a detachment of the Swiss guards with four pieces of cannon had been stationed in the Champs Elysées, to be in readiness to repress the popular disturbances which were apprehended from the state of the public mind. About noon the news of the dismissal of Necker reached Paris, and inflamed the indignation of the citizens to such a degree that it became very evident they would not long confine themselves to mere murmurs and menaces against the government. A crowd immediately collected; and, having taken the busts of the ex-minister and the Duke of Orleans from a wax-work on the northern boulevards, bore them in tumultuous triumph through the principal streets. By this time the King's German regiment of cavalry, commanded by the Prince of Lambesc, had drawn up in the Place Louis XV., where the

people were also assembled in considerable numbers. It is said that the soldiers bore the insults and outrages of the multitude for a long time with great patience, and did not even retaliate when stones were thrown and pistols fired at them. It is certain, however, that at last one of the cavalry, when riding past a soldier of the French guards (who were understood to be generally well affected to the popular cause), provoked probably by something that had suddenly occurred, drew forth his pistol and shot the man through the heart. This unexpected act of aggression was the signal for the immediate flight of the people into the garden of the Palace, followed by the troop with the Prince at their head, who, springing over the Pont Tournant, is asserted, as soon as he had got into the garden, to have begun cutting down indiscriminately all who came in his way. We have related in another place the events which immediately followed. The contest between the court and the nation had now become one which was only to be decided by the subjugation of the one party or the other. The war of opinion had now become a war of force. But the resistance of the court in fact was at an end. This bold preliminary flourish was the last display of its strength which it attempted. Within two days after, the people were organized in armed battalions—most of the old military had joined their array—the Bastile was taken—the authorities of the city and the unanimous legislature had sanctioned the insurrection—and the King himself had crowned the arrangements which grew out of the popular success with his approval, and was ostensibly at least, and by profession, at the head of the completed Revolution.

But the Place Louis XV. derives its chief celebrity from still more terrible scenes than any we have yet related, of which it was subsequently the theatre.

Here was the principal place of execution, we should rather say the shambles, of the Revolution, during its worst days, where for a long time the law itself committed its murders by wholesale, at a rate almost enough to stagger the belief even of those who are most familiar with the story of whatever atrocities of this nature have been perpetrated by former tyrannies in any other land. The first victim who perished in this place of blood was the King himself.

We have already recounted the circumstances attending the trial, if so it might be called, of Louis, at the bar of the Convention, and the successive votes of that assembly on the subject of his guilt and the punishment to be inflicted on him. The sentence of death was pronounced early on the morning of the 17th of January (1793), after a sitting which had been continued throughout the night from the preceding day. M. Malesherbes, his counsel, was the first person who communicated this decision to the unfortunate monarch. Having been admitted into the tower of the Temple about nine o'clock in the morning, M. Malesherbes found his majesty, he tells us, seated in the shade, his back being turned to a lamp which was placed on the mantel-piece, his legs supported on the table, and his face covered with his hands. He had been fully prepared for the tidings which M. Malesherbes came to announce to him, and was much less moved than the good old man who had to make the distressing communication, and who had not till the last ceased to hope for a different result. His faithful valet, Cléry, has given us a minute and interesting detail of the conduct of his royal master during the few remaining days he was permitted to live. In conversing with Cléry after M. Malesherbes had retired, he expressed himself satisfied that little was to be expected from the demand for a delay in the execu-

tion of the sentence, which it had been determined should be addressed to the Convention. It afflicted him particularly, he said, that the Duke of Orleans, his relation, had voted for his death. What occasioned him most grief and anxiety in regard to his own fate was the desolate state in which he must leave his widow and family. He expected to have seen M. Malesherbes again that evening; but he did not make his appearance, not having, it appears, been admitted when he applied at the gate of the prison. The continued absence during the next and the following days of this, the only friend whom he had been permitted to see, gave the King much uneasiness. During the 18th he employed himself principally in reading; the volume which he chose being that of Hume's History of England, which contained the account of the death of Charles I.

On the 19th, at nine in the morning, Gobeau, an officer of the municipality, presented himself, accompanied by Mathey, the jailor; for the purpose, as he stated, of taking an inventory of the King's effects. While Gobeau, assisted by Cléry, was employed at this work, Mathey stood before the fire, with his back to it and his coat tucked up; nor did he shew any inclination to shift his position when his majesty, who had been sitting for some time in a small adjoining closet without a chimney, approached to warm himself. This rudeness and inhumanity provoked Louis to forget for a moment his usual meekness; and, in a somewhat sharp tone, he desired the man to stand a little aside. Mathey said nothing, but retired.

On the 20th, which was Sunday, he was occupied during the earlier part of the day in reading and writing, as was his custom. At two o'clock the ministers of justice and of foreign affairs and some

ten or twelve other persons, composing what was called the Executive Council, made their appearance, conducted by Santerre. As soon as they had entered the apartment, Garat, the minister of justice, without taking off his hat, addressed his majesty as follows : " Louis, the National Convention has charged the Provisionary Executive Council to communicate to you its decrees of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th, and 20th January ; the secretary of the Council will read them to you." Grouvelle, the secretary, then, unfolding a paper which he held in his hand, proceeded to read the decrees in a weak and tremulous voice. They consisted of four articles, and declared, in substance, that Louis Capet, the last King of the French, having been guilty of conspiring against the liberty of the nation, should undergo the punishment of death ; that the appeal to the nation, which he had claimed, should not be allowed ; but that the Executive Council should see to the execution of the sentence within twenty-four hours. Louis listened to these intimations without emotion ; and receiving the paper from Grouvelle, deliberately folded it up and deposited it in his pocket-book. Then taking out another paper, he presented it to Garat, requesting him to lay it immediately before the Convention ; but when the minister appeared to hesitate about accepting it, Louis said that he would read it to him before putting it into his hands, which he did immediately in his usual tone of voice. It contained a demand, first, for a delay of three days to enable him to prepare himself for death, and permission to see, for that purpose, a priest whom he should name, and whose safety should be perfectly secured ; secondly, for some relaxation of the constant surveillance to which he had recently been subjected, two guards having been stationed in his apartments, whose orders were never to allow him to be a moment out of their view, either

during the day or the night ; and thirdly, for the privilege, during the time he was to live, of seeing his family when he chose, and without any one being present. He also requested that the Convention would, after his death, permit his family to retire without molestation to whatever country they might wish to go to ; and he recommended those who had adhered to him in his adversity, and whose services he had not the means of recompensing, as well as many aged persons, females, and children, to whom he had been in the habit of dispensing charity, to the benevolence of the nation. When he had heard it read, Garat took the paper, and promised that he would forward it immediately to the Convention. The Council then retired.

On dinner being brought in immediately after this, it was found that the Municipality had given orders that the use of a knife should no longer be allowed to their prisoner. "Do they believe me such a fool," said the King, "that I would attempt my life ? I am innocent of the crimes which they impute to me, and I shall die without fear." No one else spoke. The King ate little, cutting the meat with his spoon ; and the dinner was over in a few minutes.

About six o'clock in the evening Garat and Santerre returned, when the former informed his majesty that his letter had been laid before the Convention, and that they had decreed that he should be permitted to call in what minister of religion he might think proper, and to see his family freely, and without any one being present. The nation, it was added, always great, and always just, would see to the condition of his family, and pay his creditors whatever might be due to them ; but as to his demand for a delay of three days, upon that the Convention had passed to the order of the day.

Nothing more, therefore, now remained to the unfortunate King except to avail himself, as the time permitted, of the scanty privileges which had been accorded to him. He prepared, in the first place, to see his wife and children ; but it was some time before everything could be arranged for the interview. Although the decree of the Convention seemed to have given him permission to meet them alone, it was determined, in order to satisfy the letter of the previous instructions which had been issued by the Municipality, that his guard should observe what took place through some panes of glass which were in the door of the dining-room, the door itself being shut ; and that consequently the interview should take place in that apartment. At last, soon after eight o'clock, every thing being in readiness, his majesty sent to desire the presence of the objects of his affection. The messenger was absent on his errand about a quarter of an hour. " During this interval," says Cléry, " the King re-entered his closet, coming from time to time to the door, with symptoms of the liveliest emotion. At half-past eight the door opened : the Queen appeared first, holding her son by the hand ; then the Princess Royal and Madame Elizabeth ; all threw themselves into the arms of the King. A deep silence reigned for some minutes, interrupted only by sobs. The Queen made a movement, with the object of leading his majesty towards his chamber. ' No,' said the King, ' let us pass into this room—I can only see you there.' They entered, and I shut the door, which was a glazed one. The King sat down, the Queen placing herself on his left, Madame Elizabeth on his right, the Princess Royal almost opposite to him, while the young prince remained standing between his legs ; all were bent towards him, and often clasped him in their arms. This scene of grief lasted for an hour and

three quarters, during which it was impossible to hear anything that was said ; we could only perceive that after every expression of the King the sobs of the princesses redoubled, lasting for some minutes, and that then the King recommenced speaking. At a quarter past ten the King rose first, and all followed him : I opened the door ; the Queen held the King by the right arm ; their majesties gave each one hand to the Dauphin ; the Princess Royal, on the left, clung to the King with her arm around his waist ; Madame Elizabeth on the same side, but not quite so far in advance, had seized the left arm of her august brother ; they moved some steps towards the door, uttering the most agonizing groans. ‘ I assure you,’ said the King, ‘ that I will see you to-morrow morning at eight.’ ‘ You promise us,’ repeated they all together. ‘ Yes, I promise you.’ ‘ Why not at seven ?’ said the Queen. ‘ Well, then,’ answered the King, ‘ at seven—adieu !’ He pronounced this adieu in so impressive a manner that their distress and sobbing were redoubled. The Princess Royal fell down in a swoon at the feet of the King, to whom she clung ; I lifted her up, and assisted Madame Elizabeth in supporting her : the King, wishing to put an end to this lacerating scene, bestowed upon them once more the most tender embraces, and then had the strength to tear himself from their arms. ‘ Adieu—adieu !’ he said, and re-entered his chamber.”

Before this the Abbé Edgeworth de Firmont, the priest whom the King had desired to be sent for, had been brought to the tower ; and during this distressing interview he was in an adjoining closet, where his majesty joined him immediately after his family had retired. When supper was over, at which the King eat sparingly, but with appetite, the necessary articles for the celebration of mass the

following morning were sent for to the neighbouring church of the Capuchins in the Marais. The remainder of the night, till half past twelve, Louis passed with his confessor. He then retired to bed; and having desired his valet to awaken him at five, fell immediately into a profound slumber.

The noise made by Cléry in lighting the fire awoke him at the hour at which he had desired to be called; when he rose and proceeded to dress, remarking that he had slept well, a refreshment of which he had had much need from the fatigues of the preceding day. At six o'clock the performance of mass commenced; after which his majesty took the sacrament. He then took Cléry aside, and putting into his hands a seal which he had taken from his watch, and a ring he used to wear, he ordered him to give the one to his son, and the other to the Queen; "Tell her," said he, "that I quit it with pain." "This little packet," he continued, "contains the hair of all my family; give it also to the Queen. Say to her, to my dear children, to my sister, that I had promised to see them this morning, but that I wished to spare them the distress of so cruel a separation; alas, how much it costs me to leave them without receiving their last embraces! I charge you to carry them my farewell." He uttered these last words in a voice of the deepest sorrow, and with the tears rolling down his cheeks.

The following is the conclusion of Cléry's narrative: "Paris had been under arms since five o'clock; we heard the beating of the générale, the clashing of arms, the trampling of horses, the wheeling about of cannons, which they were placing and displacing every instant; all these noises resounded through the tower. At nine the noise augmented, the doors were thrown open with obstreperous jar, and Santerre, accompanied by seven or eight members of

the municipality, entered at the head of ten gendarmes, whom he ranged in two lines. At this commotion the King came forth from his closet. 'You are come for me?' said he to Santerre. 'Yes.' 'I beg one minute,' he replied, and re-entered the closet. He returned immediately, his confessor following him. The King held his testament in his hand, and, addressing himself to one of the members of the municipality, a priest who had taken the oaths, named Jacques Roux, who happened to stand foremost, 'I request,' he said, 'that you will give this paper to the Queen—to my wife.' 'That is no business of mine,' answered the priest, while he refused to receive the manuscript; 'I am here to conduct you to the scaffold.' His majesty then addressing himself to Gobeau, another member of the municipality, requested him to take charge of the paper and to deliver it; adding, 'You may read it; it contains some dispositions with which I am desirous that the Commune should be acquainted.' I stood behind the King, near the fire-place, when he turned round, and I presented to him his great coat (*redingote*). 'I do not require it,' said he, 'give me only my hat.' As I gave it to him, his hand met mine, which he clasped for the last time. 'Gentlemen,' said he, addressing himself to the members of the municipality, 'I should wish Cléry to remain with my son, who is accustomed to his attentions; I hope that the Commune will entertain this request.' Then looking to Santerre, he added, 'Let us go.' These were the last words which he pronounced in his apartment. At the top of the stairs he met Mathey, the jailor, and said to him, 'I spoke a little sharply the day before yesterday to you—do not bear me a grudge for it.' Mathey made no reply, and affected even to retire when the King spoke to him.—I remained alone in the chamber, struck

down with grief, and almost deprived of feeling. The drums and trumpets announced that his majesty had quitted the tower. An hour after volleys of artillery and cries of *Vive la Nation! Vive la Republique!* were heard. . . . The best of kings was no more*.”

The Abbé Edgeworth, who accompanied Louis to the scaffold, has given us an account of the progress of the King from his prison to the place of execution, as well as of his last moments. In crossing the court of the Temple he twice turned round and looked up to the apartments in which his family were confined, as if to bid them his last farewell. At the entry of the second court a carriage stood waiting with two gendarmes standing at the door, one of whom entered, and took his place in front on the approach of the King. The King himself, his confessor, and the other gendarme then successively followed; the door was shut by the last, and they drove off at a slow pace. From the first Louis avoided all conversation, but continued to peruse a breviary which M. Edgeworth had given him, occasionally reciting along with that gentleman certain psalms applicable to his situation. Their progress lasted nearly two hours†. “All the streets,” continues the Abbé, “were lined with several rows of citizens, armed, some with pikes, and others with muskets. Besides this, the carriage itself was surrounded by an imposing body of troops; and, to complete their precautions, they had placed before the horses a multi-

* *Journal de la Captivité de Louis XVI.*, par M. Cléry, pp. 236—239.

† This, however, is not consistent with other accounts, which state the execution of the king to have taken place at a quarter past ten. Cléry also, as we have seen, speaks of hearing the guns which announced the execution about an hour after his majesty had left the Temple.

tude of persons with drums, that the noise of these instruments might drown any cries which might be raised in favour of the King. But whence could such cries have proceeded? Nobody appeared either at the doors or windows, and in the streets were only to be seen the rows of armed citizens. In this manner the carriage arrived amidst the deepest silence at the Place Louis XV., and stopped in the middle of a large empty space which had been formed around the scaffold. This space was surrounded by cannons; and beyond it, as far as the eye could reach, was to be seen a multitude in arms. As soon as the King perceived that the carriage had stopped, he turned towards me and said, 'We have reached the place; then, if I am not mistaken.'"

The particulars that follow we collect from different narratives. It appears that immediately on the carriage halting, one of the executioners advanced and opened the door, on which the two gendarmes rose to step out; but before they went, the King, with a firm and dignified accent, charged them with the protection of his confessor from any insult to which he might be exposed after his death. He then descended to the ground with a steady step. He was dressed in a brown coat, a white vest, grey-coloured smallclothes, and white stockings. "On descending from the carriage," says Sanson (the person who executed the sentence), in a narrative which M. Dulaure has printed*, "he was told that it would be necessary to pull off his coat; he made some difficulty as to this, saying that they could execute him as he was. When it was represented to him that the thing was impossible, he himself assisted in pulling off his coat. He made the same difficulty when his hands were going to be tied, but offered them of his own accord, when the person who was with him (M.

* *Exquisses Historiques*, ii. 380.

Edgeworth) observed that it was the last sacrifice. He then inquired if the drums were not to cease beating. We replied that we did not know, which was the truth. He ascended the scaffold, and wished to advance to the front, as if for the purpose of speaking; but it was represented to him that the thing was impossible. He then suffered himself to be conducted to the spot where we placed him, and from which he called out with a very loud voice: *People, I die innocent*; then, turning to us, he said, *Gentlemen, I am innocent of all they accuse me of; may my blood cement the happiness of Frenchmen.* These were his true and last words." "To render homage to the truth," concludes Sanson, "he sustained the whole with a sang-froid and a firmness which astonished us all. I remain very much convinced that he had derived this firmness from the principles of religion, with which no person ever appeared more penetrated than he was, or more persuaded of their truth."

It has been attempted to be denied by some writers that anything which Louis uttered from the scaffold could be heard by those around him. As a specimen of the extraordinary vehemence of feeling which even the most unimportant questions connected with the French Revolution used at one time to excite, we transcribe a manuscript note in reference to this matter, which we find on the margin of one of the pages of a volume now lying before us—Dr. Moore's *Journal of a Residence in France*. The author having reported the words commonly ascribed to his majesty, "This," remarks his commentator, "is an abominable falsehood: Dr. Moore, you confess you were not present yourself; I, who was present, swear by the Almighty God that the drums did not cease beating, and no man could hear the tyrant speak." The utterance of the words in question,

however, by the King is testified by other authorities as well as by Sanson. According to the Abbé Edgeworth (and his account is confirmed by M. Goret) Louis was prevented from continuing his address by a man on horseback, and dressed in the uniform of the national guard, rushing suddenly sword in hand, and with ferocious cries, upon the persons with the drums, and compelling them to beat their instruments with redoubled vigour. This was Santerre, then commander-in-chief of the national guard. "Several voices were raised at the same time," proceeds M. Edgeworth, "to encourage the executioners; they themselves appeared to acquire more confidence, and, seizing forcibly the most virtuous of kings, they drew him under the axe, which, at a single stroke, made his head fall from his body. All this was the work of a few seconds; the youngest of the executioners (he did not appear to be more than eighteen years of age) immediately took up the head and shewed it to the people, making the round of the scaffold; he accompanied this monstrous ceremony by the most atrocious cries and the most indecent gestures. The deepest silence reigned at first; after a short time some cries of *Vive la Republique* arose. By degrees the voices so exclaiming grew more numerous; and in less than ten minutes the cry became that of the whole multitude, and all their hats were waving in the air."

CHAPTER XII.

PLACE LOUIS XV.—CONTINUED.

Reign of Terror—Revolutionary Tribunal—State of the Place Louis XV.—
 Executions of Charlotte Corday ; of Marie Antoinette ; of Brissot, &c. ;
 of the Duke of Orleans ; of Madame Roland ; of the Duc de Brion ; of
 Hebert, &c. ; of Danton, &c. ; of the Princess Elizabeth ; of Robespierre
 and his associates.

GARDE MEUBLE—BARRIERE DE NEUILLY.

THE influence of the Mountain, or ultra-democratic party, continued to increase rapidly in the Convention after the execution of the King. On ordinary occasions, however, they could not yet always depend upon carrying their measures—many who voted with them through terror on such questions as, like that of the King's sentence, excited in a high degree the turbulent demonstrations of the multitude, taking a course more in accordance with their real sentiments at other times, when they could do so with greater safety. The strength of the faction in short lay as yet, not within the walls of the legislative chamber, but in the mob without. But on the other hand this power, from repeated victories, was becoming every day more formidable ; those who still dared to oppose themselves to its domination, were waxing both fainter in courage and fewer in numbers ; and it seemed evident that one or two more vigorous assaults would suffice to reduce them to insignificance. This end was in a great degree attained by the tumultuous and menacing crowds which assembled around the Convention on the 10th of March, and which, although dispersed by a band of *Fédérés* from Bretagne before they had perpetrated

any actual outrages, had the effect, nevertheless, by the confusion and consternation which their visit occasioned, of terrifying the legislature into the adoption of the most unhappy and disastrous measures. It was on this occasion that Leonard Bourdon proposed the institution of the famous Court for the punishment of offences against the state, originally denominated the Extraordinary Criminal Tribunal, and afterwards more notorious under the name of the Revolutionary Tribunal. After several tumultuous debates, this enormous tyranny was regularly established in the exercise of its functions on the 28th of March. On the same night domiciliary visits, as they were called, were made to all the houses in Paris—as had been done preparatory to the massacres of the preceding September—and more than five hundred persons were again seized and thrown into prison.

It was not, however, till after the expulsion and proscription of the Girondists on the decisive day of the 2d of June, that their opponents became the sole and undisputed masters of France. This event established the reign of terror, the apparent dictatorship of Robespierre, and the real sovereignty of the lowest and most abandoned of the rabble, whose slave that tyrant was, by pandering to whose passions he for a time retained his power, and to whose desertion and opposition at last, when still more extravagant leaders had arisen to court their favour, he mainly owed his fall. The government was now entirely in the hands of the Mountain. The thinned and humiliated Convention sat only to obey the bidding, and register the decrees, of Robespierre. The only individuals among its members who could be said to exercise any portion even of delegated and subordinate authority were those composing the two committees of General Security and of Public Safety—both established about the same time with the Re-

volutionary Tribunal—and they, after all, were merely the assistant ministers and instruments of the tyrant. The same thing might be said of the Revolutionary Tribunal itself, the members of which, originally nominated by Marat, comprised every wretch whose hands were deepest dyed in the blood of the recent massacres, or who promised to be in future the least scrupulous in following the instigations of that unparalleled incendiary. The self-appointed Commune, or town council, whose sudden and violent usurpation of authority on the 10th of August formed the commencement of the present mob domination, was animated by a similar spirit, and under subjection to the same influence. Then, in addition to these several bodies, which might be said to form the recognized apparatus of the government, were the two famous clubs of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, whose mandates had long been as much law as those of the Convention itself, and by his ascendancy in which it was that Robespierre chiefly maintained himself at the head of affairs; as it was in their bosom, indeed, that the conspiracy had been hatched which had originally raised him to that elevation. Lastly, to complete the monstrous edifice at once of despotism and of anarchy, there was the association calling itself the Committee of Insurrection—an offspring of the Jacobin Club—the avowed purpose of which was to excite and perpetuate confusion, and of which the atrocious character may be further understood from the fact that a declaration on oath of approbation of the September massacres was the indispensable preliminary to admission as a member.

As soon as this terrible régime was established, scaffolds were erected in every part of France; and blood began to flow with a profusion never before witnessed in any country amidst the wildest excesses of political vengeance. Persons were driven or

carted for execution by dozens and scores at a time; nor was this a rare or occasional exhibition, but renewed every day, and which, instead of presenting a gradually diminishing number of victims as the animosity of its authors might be supposed to have cooled, or the alleged necessity for such sacrifices to have abated, or even the ranks of the devoted to have been thinned, continued to grow every day more enormous. "The decrees of that court," says Dulaure, speaking of the Revolutionary Tribunal, "cannot be considered as anything except outrages upon justice, assassinations covered by vain formalities. The most murderous battles, the most disastrous defeats, have caused less of French blood to flow, and fewer tears to be shed, than the frightful exploits of this tribunal*." The scene of these atrocities at Paris, as we have intimated, was the Place Louis XV. Another historian of the Revolution has drawn a striking picture of the horrors of this spot during the time it was thus converted into a human slaughter-house. "The ground," he writes, "could not drink in all the blood that was shed; it flowed off slowly to mix itself with the waters of the river. For many hours after the executions, the feet of those passing through the square left their impressions on the bloody pavement. The fashionable walks of the Champs Elysées and the garden of the Tuileries were almost entirely deserted. Even the inhabitants of the streets along which the victims were every day conducted to the scaffold, began at last to complain, wearied by the rending sights which they were compelled to witness. Many persons were wont to leave their houses at the hour when the funeral procession passed. The merchants shut up their shops; mothers took refuge with their children in the most remote apartments of their dwellings, that their ears

* *Exquisses*, ii, 412.

might not hear the applauding shouts with which the mob of Jacobins of both sexes made the air resound on the appearance of the convicts*." "The massacres," the writer concludes, "repeated every day, and continually augmenting in atrocity, came at last well nigh to extinguish in all hearts the love of life, that sentiment so inseparably identified with human nature. Every one, sighing after the peace of the tomb, wished to drown in oblivion at once the memory of the past and the terror of the future. Nothing must have occasioned more alarm to the tyrants than the serenity and submission of their victims. Socrates expiring surrounded by his friends, Seneca and Lucan descending in tranquillity to the grave, have less claim to our admiration than that crowd of young females who received the fatal stroke with indifference in all the freshness and brilliancy of their youth. If this lavish waste of human blood had not been stopped, I doubt not that men would of their own accord have precipitated themselves under the edge of the guillotine. I have seen many women, who, not daring to put themselves to death by their own hands, had called out *Vive le Roi*, and by that stratagem thrown upon the Revolutionary tribunal the task of terminating their days; some that they might not survive a husband, others that they might follow a lover or a brother, others from mere weariness of life, and very few from any real fanaticism in favour of royalty†."

We will now shortly notice a few of the more remarkable among the thick succession of executions of which during this dreadful period the Place Louis XV. was the witness.

Here perished on the 18th of July the celebrated Charlotte Corday, the assassin of Marat. This enthusiast, then in her early youth, and distinguished by her personal attractions, appears to have conceived

* Fantin-Desodoardes, v. 401.

† Ibid. 405.

the idea of the daring deed which she afterwards accomplished, immediately on learning the proscription of the Girondists, and the victory of Robespierre and his associates in the beginning of June. Having set out from Caen in Normandy (resolved that nothing should deter her from perpetrating her purpose) she arrived in Paris on the 11th of July. On the 12th she addressed a note to her intended victim, professing to have some intelligence to communicate to him respecting those of the proscribed deputies who had made their escape and assembled in the city she had come from, which would interest him as a lover of his country, and soliciting to be admitted to his presence. Marat was at this time indisposed, and for the last three days had not appeared in the Convention. On the 13th, in the earlier part of the day, she presented herself at the door of his house, which was in the Rue de l'Ecole-de-Médecine (then called the Rue des Cordeliers), facing the Rue de Touraine, but was refused admittance. Leaving a second note, she retired, and came back between seven and eight o'clock in the evening in a carriage; when, after some opposition from the attendants, she was called in by order of Marat himself, whose attention had been attracted by the noise. She found the deputy in the bath. Having entered into conversation with him, she had discoursed for some minutes on the proceedings of the refugees in Normandy, when Marat remarked that in a few days he would have every man of them guillotined. The words were no sooner uttered, than, drawing forth a long knife from under her robe, the female Brutus plunged it up to the hilt in the body of him whom she believed to be the chief enemy and curse of her country.

The cries of the wounded man instantly brought his attendants into the apartment; and his murderers, seeing all chance of escape at an end, resigned her-

self into their hands, and was forthwith conducted to the prison of the Abbaye, amidst the shouts and



Arrest of Charlotte Corday. From an Etching by Duplessis-Berteaux, in the "Tableau de la Révolution."

execrations of a mob, consisting in great part of the vilest class of her own sex, who had assembled around the house on the rumour of what had taken place. Marat died in a few hours. Four members of the Committee of Police and as many of that of General Security immediately proceeded to interrogate Charlotte Corday respecting the crime she had committed. Her answers to some of the questions put to her by these persons depict forcibly the energetic and resolute character of the woman. She at once admitted that it was she who had slain Marat. Being asked what induced her to commit that assassination? His crimes, she boldly replied. Was it a priest who had taken the oaths to the constitution, they asked her, or one who had not, to whom you

went to make confession at Caen? I went, she answered, neither to one nor other. At another question, raising her voice with all her force, Yes, she exclaimed, I have slain one man to save a hundred thousand, a wretch to preserve those who are innocent, a ferocious beast to give repose to my country; I was a republican before the Revolution, and I never wanted energy. What do you understand by energy? asked her examiners. The sentiment, she replied, by which those are animated, who, casting from them all thought of their interest as individuals, know how to offer themselves up as sacrifices for their country.

Of course, after such an act as she had committed, her fate was sealed. She appeared for the first time before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the 16th; when nothing could exceed the self-possession of her demeanour, and the lofty indifference with which she regarded the violent death to which she was so soon to be surrendered. This unfortunate woman, notwithstanding her exaggerated patriotism, appears to have possessed a nature in many respects nobly endowed, and even a heart susceptible of the tenderest affections. In a letter which she wrote from her prison to Barbaroux, whom she had known at Caen, she says, "I have never hated but one being on earth, and him with what intensity I have sufficiently shewn; but there are a thousand whom I love still more than I hated him." "A lively imagination," she goes on, "and a feeling heart, promise but a stormy life; I beseech those who might regret me to consider this, and they will rejoice to know that I am enjoying repose in the Elysian fields with Brutus and others of the ancients." She addressed a short note, on the day before her execution, to her father, in which, after having asked his forgiveness for having disposed of her life without his permission, she adds, "I pray you to forget me,

or rather to rejoice in my fate ; the cause, at least, in which I perish is a noble one. I embrace my sisters, whom I love with my whole heart, as likewise all my relations. Never forget the verse of Corneille ;

“ Le crime fait la honte, et non pas l'échafaud*.”

The heroine, when her last hour was come, shrunk from her fate no more than she had previously done. Before setting out for the place of execution, she asked with a smile of scorn whether the body of Marat was to be deposited in the Pantheon. Such was the imposing dignity of her demeanour as she passed along on her way, that even the abandoned rabble who were wont to flock around the guillotine, and disturb with their ferocious howls the last moments of its victims, were on this occasion awed into comparative silence ; and some of the more respectable spectators took off their hats at her approach, while murmurs of applause and sympathy broke from others, which all their fears for themselves could not restrain. She mounted the scaffold with a firm step. When the executioner proceeded to tie her hands, a part of the ceremony for which she was unprepared, she at first manifested a disposition to resist the attempt, imagining that some insult was intended her ; but, on the matter being explained, she smiled at her mistake, and offered no farther opposition. When she had laid her head on the block, the executioner removed a handkerchief that covered her neck and shoulders ; and on this those who stood around her remarked that a quick instinct of modesty instantly suffused her cheeks with a deep blush. The mounted blood still reddened her visage when the head, after being separated from the body, was held up by the executioner to the view of the multitude. One of the assistants on the scaffold was brutal enough repeatedly to strike the lifeless and dripping head ; but

* The crime and not the scaffold makes the shame.

this outrage shocked even those who were not wont to be easily revolted by any indecencies; and the man's conduct was so much exclaimed against that his masters, by way of punishment, were obliged to send him for a short time to prison. As presenting a contrast both to the conduct and the sentence of this functionary, we may mention that a young man, named Adam de Lux, was inspired with so much admiration by the dying demeanour of this extraordinary woman, that he immediately afterwards wrote and published a defence of her conduct, and even proposed that a statue should be erected to her memory, having inscribed on it the words, "To one who was greater than Brutus." The daring champion was immediately apprehended, thrown into prison, and a few days after executed, consoling himself in his last moments with the proud thought that it was for Charlotte Corday he died.

On the 10th of October the Committee of Public Safety issued their famous decree, that the Government of France should continue revolutionary until the peace. "From this moment," to quote the language of Dulaure, "no obstacle arrested the march of the Revolution, no bridle restrained the arbitrary will and passions of the tyrants, no safety existed for the citizens; their fortunes, their lives, were at the mercy of the Revolutionary Committees, committees composed for the most part of men new in the Revolution, of strangers, of the most impure and vicious characters to be found in society, many of whom had formerly been coachmen and lacqueys to the emigrants. The ordinary prisons could not contain the constantly increasing numbers of the arrested. The palace of the Luxembourg was converted into a place of detention, but that vast building soon became insufficient for the purpose. They had then recourse to the colleges, to the religious houses, even to private

houses. The revolutionary laws, and, above all, the law regarding suspected persons, entirely peopled them. It was thence that the Revolutionary Tribunal drew its victims. Carriages well escorted, came from time to time to carry away a certain number of the persons thus confined; who, being first conducted to the Conciergerie, appeared next day before that terrible tribunal, which, with a few rare exceptions, condemned them all to the scaffold. All the towns throughout France were, in like manner, plentifully provided with prisons, and groaned under the same oppression*." In another place the author informs us that, whereas before the 10th of March the number of persons detained in the different prisons of the capital (on political accusations, we presume, he means) had scarcely amounted to above a thousand, it rose by the 21st of December to three thousand and ninety-eight, and eventually exceeded six thousand†.

On the 16th of October the Queen, Marie Antoinette, was put to death on the same spot which, nine months before, had been drenched with the blood of her husband. The execution of this ill-fated princess, (murder as it was) was among the least of the cruelties heaped on the latter days of an existence the earlier part of which had been gladdened by so much sunshine and promise. On the morning on which the King left the Temple for the last time, his miserable family, who were confined in the floor above that which had been his residence, continued, according to the promise he had given them the night before, to expect every moment to be called down, once more to press to their bosoms the form they loved, before it should be stiff in death. They were for the first time undeceived, and learned that all was over, by the shouts of the triumphing multitude,

* *Exquisses*, iii, 87.

† *Ibid*. p. 93.

When the first burst of her anguish had subsided, the Queen besought her jailors to allow her to see Cléry, who had been with her husband during the last hours of his imprisonment; but this petition was refused. The confinement of the unhappy family became more rigid than ever, and they were cut off from all communication except with their jailors. Still it was an unspeakable consolation to all of them that they were allowed to remain together. But this last remaining comfort, the society of her children, the poor mother was not long permitted to enjoy. An order came from the Convention to take her son from her, which the officers, after a contest of more than an hour with her passionate and imploring appeals for pity, were only able to execute at last by threatening, unless she gave up the child, to kill him in her arms. From this moment the light of life was gone from her; and other sufferings descended on her head comparatively unfelt. On the 2d of August, by another decree, she was torn during the night from her sister-in-law and her daughter, and transported to the prison of the Conciergerie. Two gend'armes were here appointed to keep her constantly in their view, both day and night: they did not withdraw even while she undressed. Overwhelmed by these terrible griefs and humiliations, the unfortunate Queen spent her hours in weeping and prayers, having no wish but one, that death would come and end her sorrows. She had not to wait long for this relief, although long enough for her to know the bitterness of another cruel trial before closing her eyes for ever. Having been previously interrogated by some members of the Committee of General Security, she was, on the 14th of October, brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The indictment began by asserting, in general terms, that the crimes attributed to Messalina, to Brunehault, to Frede-

gonde, to Catherine de Medicis, did not approach in atrocity those which had been ascertained to have been committed by the widow Capet. The prisoner was then specially charged with dilapidation of the finances, to satisfy her habits of extravagance; with intriguing with the enemies of France; with treason against the nation, committed in appearing at the festival given by certain regiments to their officers at Versailles in the beginning of October 1789; with the distribution of anti-revolutionary writings; with having occasioned the famine under which the people of the capital suffered during the first days of the Revolution; with having, in concert with Lafayette and Bailly, contrived the flight of the King to Varennes; and with various other offences of a similar description. But to these political accusations, which, absurd as they were, considered especially as the foundation of a process like the present, were yet nothing more than were to have been anticipated from their authors, another was added of a character so diabolical, that the invention of so horrid an imputation might well be deemed the last excess of shamelessness and fiendish malignity, did not the manner in which it was sought to establish the charge disclose to us an exhibition of brutality still more monstrously revolting. The miserable mother was accused of outraging all that nature most sensitively reveres in the breast of the woman and the parent; and the evidence brought forward in support of the audacious and loathsome calumny was the testimony of her own child! When Marie Antoinette, standing before the tribunal, was first questioned on this part of the charge against her, a dignified and scornful silence was all her reply; and for the instant it shamed her interrogator; but, when another of her judges shortly afterwards reverted to the subject, she turned round to the crowd

behind her, and, while her whole form and countenance looked noble with the majesty of indignation, said, "I call on all the mothers who are here present, and I ask of them if this thing, of which I am accused, be not impossible?" Even on that prejudiced and infuriated auditory the effect of this appeal was overwhelming. When Roberspierre, who was not present, was afterwards told of the incident, as he sat at dinner with some of his friends, he dashed his fork on his plate in a rage, and burst out into a violent invective against 'that imbecile Hébert' (the person who had got up this part of the accusation), for his stupid mismanagement in affording his victim, in her last moments, such a triumph of public sympathy.

The trial continued without interruption till four o'clock on the morning of the 16th. During all this time the prisoner was neither permitted to retire to take a moment's rest, nor scarcely allowed even the food necessary to sustain nature. At one time, feeling very thirsty, she requested a little water; no one dared to bring it to her, till she asked it a second time, when an officer of gendarmes was unable longer to withhold so slight a relief from so much distress. For the performance of this act of humanity the man was dismissed from his employment, and might consider himself fortunate that he did not lose his head. The Queen, notwithstanding every thing that was done to overcome or weary out her courage, maintained her firmness unshaken to the last. At the hour we have mentioned, sentence of death was pronounced against her by the unanimous verdict of the Tribunal—a result for which she was prepared, and the announcement of which she heard without emotion. She was then permitted to retire for a short space; during part of which she employed herself in writing a letter to her sister-in-law,

and pouring out to her, whom, however, the lines never reached, the last adieus and blessings of a mother's heart to her now orphan and utterly desolate children. At eleven o'clock, having dressed herself in white, she took her place in the vehicle, an open cart, which was to convey her to execution. Her hands were tied behind her back, and her companions were her executioner and a constitutional priest, whose ministrations she had declined. The streets through which she was conducted were crowded with the populace, who showered all manner of outrages upon her as she passed along, with pitiless and unceasing perseverance. In as far as respected dignity of carriage, the unfortunate princess sustained the storm of calumny with which she was assailed without shrinking; but the rapidity with which the colour came and went in her cheeks, which, now a glowing crimson, were the next instant deadly pale, and the indignation and astonishment which flashed from her eyes, shewed what agitation was within. An immense multitude occupied the spacious steps in front of the church of St. Roch, who made the air ring as she approached with their applauding vociferations; and, when the vehicle came up to them, insisted that it should be stopped that they might have the better view of their poor, bound, tortured victim. Overcome here for a moment she turned her back to them, and raising her shoulders, as if in intense agony, endeavoured to hide her head from the persecution of their fury and mockery. When she arrived at last in the Place Louis XV., after having been thus paraded through the streets for more than an hour and a half, she turned her eyes to the garden and palace of the Tuileries, while her countenance vividly expressed how many remembrances crowded on her heart. She mounted the scaffold with a quick step; and

was immediately led to the block. The next instant the executioner held up her streaming head to the gaze of the multitude, who re-echoed his cries of *The Republic for ever!* like so many hungry beasts of prey howling over their carnage.

By three different decrees of the Convention, the first passed on the 3rd, and the two others on the 20th of October, one hundred and thirty-three deputies in all were consigned to the Revolutionary Tribunal. These desolating edicts were adopted without discussion as soon as proposed, the mere mention of any name by an individual sufficing to procure its insertion in the bloody list. Eighty of the persons thus condemned to lose their lives (for each might consider sentence of death to have been already passed on him) continued either to conceal themselves or to effect their escape from France; the remaining forty-three were seized and immediately thrown into prison. On the 24th, twenty-one of these, consisting of Brissot, Vergniaud, and other distinguished individuals belonging to the party called the Girondists, were brought before the Tribunal. After the accusation against them had been read, and witnesses examined in support of it, the prisoners, by a special decree of the Convention passed on the demand of the court, were prohibited from even attempting to make any defence. Justice itself indeed being entirely disregarded in these execrable proceedings, it mattered little that its forms were also dispensed with. On the 30th the usual sentence of death was pronounced on the whole of the unfortunate deputies. Villate, who was himself a member of the court, and an eye-witness of the scene which took place on this occasion, has described it in the following words:—"Scarcely was the fatal word, *death*, pronounced, when Brissot dropt his arms, while his head at the same time sunk down upon his breast.

ensonné, pale and trembling, demanded permission to speak on the subject of the application of the law. Nobody paid any attention to his words. Boiseau, astonished, raising his hat in the air, called out, *I am innocent*; and, turning to the people, appealed to them with vehemence. The others arose spontaneously, exclaiming, *People, we are innocent, they deceive you*. The people remained immovable; the gendarmes laid hold of the prisoners, and compelled them to resume their seats. Valazé drew a stiletto from his bosom, and plunged it into his heart; he immediately fell back and expired. Sillery let his two crutches fall to the ground; while, with a countenance full of joy, and rubbing his hands, he called out, *This day is the brightest of my life*. The advanced hour of the night (it was midnight), the lighted torches, the judges and the audience fatigued by the protracted sitting—all gave to this scene a sombre, imposing, and terrible character. * * * Boyer-Fonfrède turned toward Ducos, and folding him in his arms, exclaimed, while his countenance was bathed in tears, *It is I who have been the cause of your death*. Ducos, clasping him in his, replied, *My friend, console yourself, we shall die together*. The Abbé Fauchet, overwhelmed with affliction, seemed to be asking pardon of God; La-source presented a contrast to Duprat, who breathed courage and energy; Carra preserved his stern air; Vergniaud appeared worn out with the length of so distressing a sight *."

On leaving the court they threw what assignats they had in their pockets among the crowd, and retired singing the Marseilloise hymn. At noon the following day they were again brought forth from their prison, and being placed in carts (one of which conveyed the dead body of Valazé) were conducted to

* Les Mystères de la Mère de Dieu dévoilés,

the usual place of execution. Some of them employed themselves in singing patriotic songs all the way. Sillery was the first who mounted the scaffold. Several of them attempted to address the multitude—but were unattended to. One called out *Vive la Republique*, while others chaunted the chorus, “*Plutôt la mort que l’esclavage, c’est la devise des Français*”—*Rather death than slavery is the motto of the French* *. Thus were cut off at a single blow all the members of the Convention most distinguished whether for patriotism or eloquence. Seldom, probably, has there fallen at one time beneath the axe of the executioner so great a number of eminent men, as were this day sacrificed together in the Place Louis XV.

Here was executed on the 8th of November the famous Louis Philippe Joseph, Duke of Orleans, latterly known by the name of the Citizen Egalité. This personage, some months before, having been apprehended at Marseilles, had been tried there for conspiracy against the government, and acquitted. The committee of Public Safety, however, ordered him to be detained in prison—and, having been brought to Paris, he was carried before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the day we have mentioned. After a trial, conducted in the usual manner, the usual sentence was passed on him, and he was executed the same day. The Duke of Orleans displayed a firmness of demeanour, in his last moments, scarcely to have been expected from his previous conduct or character. The cart in which he was conveyed, along with three other convicts, to execution, was made to stop for some minutes in front of the

* Dulaure, *Exquisses*, iii. 107. M. Dulaure was himself one of the deputies consigned by the edict of the Convention to the tender mercies of the Revolutionary Tribunal, but was fortunate enough to effect his escape to Switzerland..

Palais Royal ; but he looked upon his ancient residence with an unmoved countenance. From the moment of his condemnation he had refrained from uttering a murmur against either his judges or any one else ; and, even when the choice was offered him of having his execution deferred till the following day, he declined availing himself of that indulgence. A writer of warm royalist principles, who was his fellow-prisoner in the Conciergerie, saw him after his condemnation traversing the court of the prison, escorted by half a dozen gendarmes with their naked sabres crossed. " It ought to be told," says this writer, " that from his proud and assured march, and his truly noble air, you would have taken him rather for a general commanding his soldiers than for a prisoner about to be led to the scaffold *."

Two days after the execution of the Duke of Orleans another distinguished victim perished on the same spot, the gifted and courageous Madame Roland, wife of the ex-minister. Roland himself had taken flight from Paris immediately after the catastrophe of the 2d of June ; on which occasion it was remarked, in allusion to the aid in the composition of his speeches and official papers which he was supposed to receive from his wife, that he had got off with his body, but had left his soul behind him. Madame Roland was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the 6th. She had attired herself with care for the occasion in a dress of white, over which her long black hair descended in profusion to her waist. Her trial was the usual melancholy mockery of law and justice, intended apparently only to inflict upon the unfortunate individual already doomed to the guillotine, the agony of a prolonged torture before the finishing and emancipating stroke. Madame Roland endured the rudeness, vio-

* M. Beaulieu, in *Biographie Universelle*, xxxii. 135.

lence, and shameless injustice to which she was subjected for the most part with unmoved serenity and firmness. At one time only, some disgraceful interrogatories that were pressed upon her by her unmanly judges, wrung from her a few indignant tears. When, too, on proceeding to read her defence, she was stopped by the president, she turned round to the audience and appealed to them against this arbitrary treatment ; but they only replied to her by shouts of *Vive la Republique !* When her sentence was pronounced she thanked her judges, and left the bar with a light step, as if delighted with the thought that the worst of her sufferings was over. She was conveyed to the scaffold at three o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, in the same cart with M. Lamarche, director of the fabrication of assignats, who, having been just about to be married to a lady to whom he was tenderly attached, remained sunk in despondency, as he reflected on his hard fate. His companion did every thing in her power, as they rode through the streets, to arouse and encourage the wretched man ; and when they stood together on the scaffold, and the executioner was about to lead her first to the block, she requested permission to give up her right of precedence to Lamarche, as less able than she was to endure a protraction of the punishment, or the sight of another's blood. The man hesitated, saying that his orders were to give her the first turn ; on which she replied with a smile, ' But you cannot surely refuse a woman her last request ;' and she obtained what she asked. The last words she uttered were addressed to the statue of Liberty which stood near the scaffold, turning her eyes to which she exclaimed, *Oh, Liberty ! what crimes are committed in thy name.*

The executions of this year were concluded by that of the brave Duke de Biron, who was guillotined on

the 31st of December. This nobleman was one of the most distinguished individuals of his class who, on its first breaking out, espoused the cause of the Revolution, and he had since covered himself with laurels by his valour in the wars which had followed that convulsion. Before setting out for execution he asked for some white wine and oysters; and, on finishing his repast, poured out to the executioner and the jailor, and invited them to drink along with him. He then mounted the cart, and proceeded to meet his fate with apparent unconcern. A considerable number of other persons were executed at the same time.

The commencement of the year 1794 only beheld the work of blood proceed faster than ever. Robespierre now began to find it necessary, in order to retain his power, to defend himself against those who had mainly assisted him in acquiring it; and he did not fail to take his measures against his former tools and associates with the same determined and remorseless severity as he had employed against all others who had hitherto crossed the path of his ambition. On the 21st of March, Hébert, Anacharsis Clootz, Desfieux, and seventeen other persons, one of them a woman, were brought to trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal. On the 24th sentence of death was pronounced upon nineteen of them, including the woman, whose execution, however, was ordered to be deferred on her being declared pregnant. Hébert, on this occasion, shewed how little his familiarity with blood and the ample experience he had had in sending others to the scaffold, had fitted him to meet death himself with ordinary composure:—when his fate was announced, the miscreant, overcome by the agony of his fears, sunk down on the floor, and had to be carried back to his prison by the

officers of the court. The convicts were executed at four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

Danton and other chiefs of the Mountain, who had hitherto been the obsequious slaves of Robespierre, fondly imagined that they took the best possible method to secure their own lives by aiding the tyrant in the destruction of Hébert and his companions. They were not long permitted to indulge this delusion. On the 2d of April the judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal beheld, standing at their bar, Danton—the very man to whose exertions that terrible court had principally owed its establishment—Camille-Desmoulins, who had but a few weeks before been employed by Robespierre to blacken the reputation of Hébert with the public, in order the better to prepare the way for his execution—and thirteen other individuals, most of them more or less distinguished in the history of the Revolution. On the 5th sentence of death was pronounced on all of them save one, and carried into execution a few hours afterwards. Camille-Desmoulins, who had from the commencement of the trial given free expression to his rage and his sense of the ingratitude of Robespierre, offered so violent a resistance when he was about to be placed in the fatal cart, that his clothes were torn to rags in the struggle. Danton, before leaving the Conciergerie, expressed in bitter terms his regret for having contributed to the establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and asked pardon of God and men for that crime. When he arrived on the scaffold, he broke out at first into some lamentations on the subject of his wife and children; but soon checked himself, and, saying with a lively accent, *Danton, no weakness!* dried up his tears. While about to kneel down to submit himself to the instrument of death, he turned to the ex-

ecutioner, and said, " You will shew my head to the people ; it is well worth their looking at." Danton's countenance, if we may trust the common portraits, was one of the true revolutionary cast.

After this generally twenty-five or thirty persons were sacrificed every day. We can only afford to mention the names of a few of the more distinguished among these many victims. On the 10th of April perished among others General Arthur Dillon, Gobel, the late archbishop of Paris, and the widow of Camille Desmoulins. On the 20th thirty-one gentlemen, most of them formerly counsellors of the parliaments of Paris and Toulouse, were condemned and executed together. On the 22d the venerable M. Malesherbes, the defender of the King, along with his daughter, the Marquis de Châteaubriant, and several others of the old nobility, suffered. On the 29th the Duke de Villeroy, the Comtes d'Estaing and Béthune Charrost, with thirty more, many of them persons of rank, underwent a like fate. On the 8th of May was put to death the illustrious Lavoisier, a name of the highest celebrity in the history of modern chemistry. This distinguished individual, on receiving his sentence of condemnation, had petitioned for a respite of a few days that he might finish some important experiments with which he was engaged ; but his judges refused to hear his prayer, and ordered him at once to the scaffold, observing that the Republic had no need of chemists. Lavoisier's crime consisted in his having been formerly one of the farmers-general of taxes, a class of persons whom it was resolved to cut off by a general act of destruction, and thirty more of whom accordingly were executed along with him.

Two days after this perished the princess Elizabeth, the admirable sister of Louis XVI. This illus-

trious lady, after enduring a rigorous confinement of twenty-one months in the Temple, had been the day before separated from her niece, and conducted to the Conciergerie. She was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the morning of the 10th, along with twenty-four other persons of both sexes. All the prisoners were condemned to death and executed the same day. On the way to the scaffold the princess exerted herself in consoling her female companions, and exhorting them to firmness and resignation. They were all executed before her; and each on moving to the block made her a respectful obeisance, and received from her in return an affectionate embrace. This amiable princess had just entered her thirty-first year, when she was thus cruelly murdered.

But we are not called upon at present to pursue much farther the history of these butcheries. Alarmed by the growing murmurs of the inhabitants of the Rue St. Honoré and the other streets through which the victims were wont to pass to the Place Louis XV., Robespierre at length removed the instrument of death to the Place de la Bastille at the opposite extremity of the city. It was afterwards transferred still farther to the east, and set up in the Place du Trône. The number of those daily conducted to execution increased afterwards considerably beyond even the largest amount that we have yet had occasion to notice. It seldom fell below forty and sometimes rose to about seventy, all of whom, no matter how various their accusations, were generally tried in the morning and guillotined the same afternoon, the former operation occupying hardly more time than the latter.

But the catastrophe of the 9th Thermidor (27th of July) came at last, and consigned the tyrant and

his associates to the same fate which during the fourteen months of their domination they had inflicted on so many thousands of their countrymen. The blood of Robespierre and his fellow-butchers of the Revolutionary Tribunal and the Commune was the last that flowed in the Place Louis XV. On the afternoon of the 28th of July Robespierre and his brother, Couthon and St. Just, the two chief instruments of his tyranny, Dumas, the president of their infamous tribunal, Lescot-Fleuriot, the mayor of Paris, Hanriot, who on the preceding night had commanded the troops in the interest of the Commune, and fifteen other members of the defeated faction, in all twenty-two individuals, were conducted to the scaffold. For a long time past the inhabitants of the capital, partly from disgust and partly from indifference, had almost ceased to assemble to witness the guillotine at work; it rarely happened that the number of the spectators on any day equalled that of the persons executed. But on this occasion the multitude that filled the streets through which the criminals had to pass, seemed to comprise all Paris. The condemned wretches, as they sat bound in the carts that slowly conveyed them through the midst of this dense mass, presented an appearance singularly wild and horrible. Robespierre himself, already wounded by a pistol bullet, which had broken his under-jaw, had his head sunk on his breast, while the usual tiger-like expression of his countenance was rendered beyond description hideous and revolting by the bloody bandages in which it was partly enveloped, the disfigurement it had undergone, and the visible anguish written on every feature. Many of the others also still wore in their aspect the ferocity, affright, and exhaustion produced by the recent struggle, or exhibited in their

persons and attire traces of the violence of their captors, or injuries received in their vain endeavours to escape from their hands. "They looked," says a historian, "not so much like ordinary criminals as like so many wild beasts taken in a snare, and whom it had been impossible to lay hold of without mutilating them*." As they passed along to their well-merited doom, the execrations of the people fell on them in showers. Frequently the procession was compelled to stop that the emancipated and exulting multitude might send their cries of rage, mockery, and triumph the deeper into the hearts of their overthrown oppressors. When they at last reached the Place Louis XV. their eyes, to whatever side they turned, could find nothing but the surrounding multitude to rest upon. Every foot of the immense square was occupied, and numbers crowded the roofs of the surrounding buildings. The guillotine soon did its work. The executioner, however, after Robespierre, already half dead, was spread out on the block, thought it necessary to remove the bandage from his neck before allowing the fatal cleaver to descend on it. As the man performed this operation with no great tenderness, the fractured jaw was almost torn from the rest of the head, the blood gushed forth in a torrent; and the tortured wretch gave utterance to his agony in a howl of terrific wildness. Thus perished these men, the rejoicing people crowding to the spectacle of their bloody death as to a great national festival. On the following day seventy more members of the Commune were executed on the same spot.

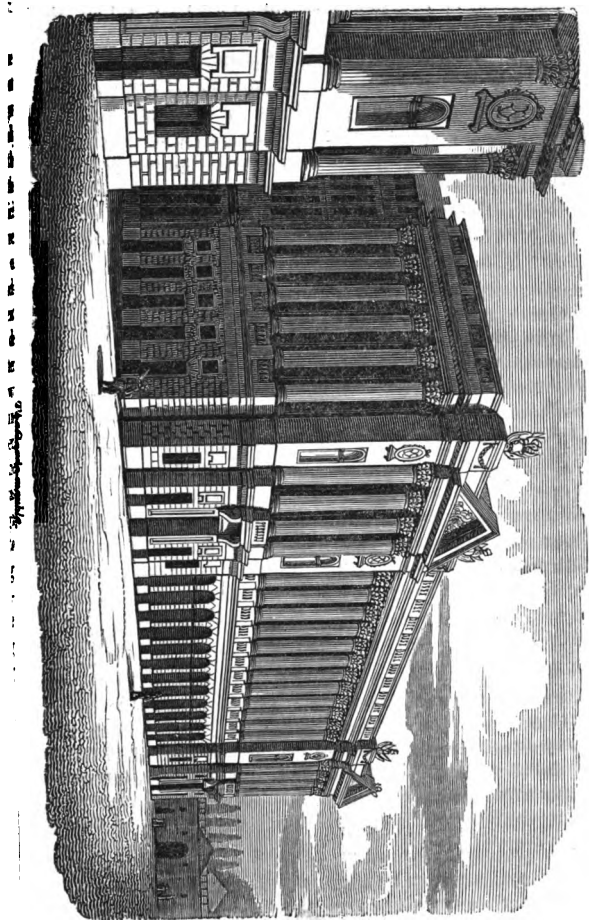
The overturning of the different royal statues which decorated the city was the principal amusement

* Desqdoardes, vi. 29.

of the mob on the 11th of August, 1792, the day after the famous attack on the Tuilleries, which effected the destruction of the monarchy. The Assembly had passed a decree in the morning commanding that these memorials of the abolished régime should be removed. Among others, the statue of Louis XV., which occupied the centre of this square, fell a sacrifice, of course, to the popular fury. After they had succeeded in bringing down the figure of the monarch, one of the legs remained attached to the horse, on which a spectator remarked, 'that royalty, it appeared, had still a foot in the stirrup.' Some months after a statue of Liberty in plaster took the place of the demolished bronze; and the square itself changed its old name for that of the *Place de la Revolution*. The goddess continued to occupy her station till the 20th of March, 1800, when she was displaced by a decree of the Consuls, to make room for a national column, of which, however, all that was actually erected was a wooden model, wrapped in a covering of calico. On this occasion the square received the new name of the *Place de la Concorde*, which it retained till the return of the Bourbons, when its original designation was restored to it. But although it was at first intended that a copy of the original statue should also be erected, the order issued for that purpose was never carried into execution; and soon after the accession of Charles X. it was determined to place the figure of Louis XVI. in the centre of the square, and to call it in future after the name of that monarch, of whose last moments it was the scene. As yet, however, the spot which since its first appropriation has been so variously dedicated, remains without any actual occupant. The base, however, intended for the statue of Louis XVI. was, in August last, suddenly orna-

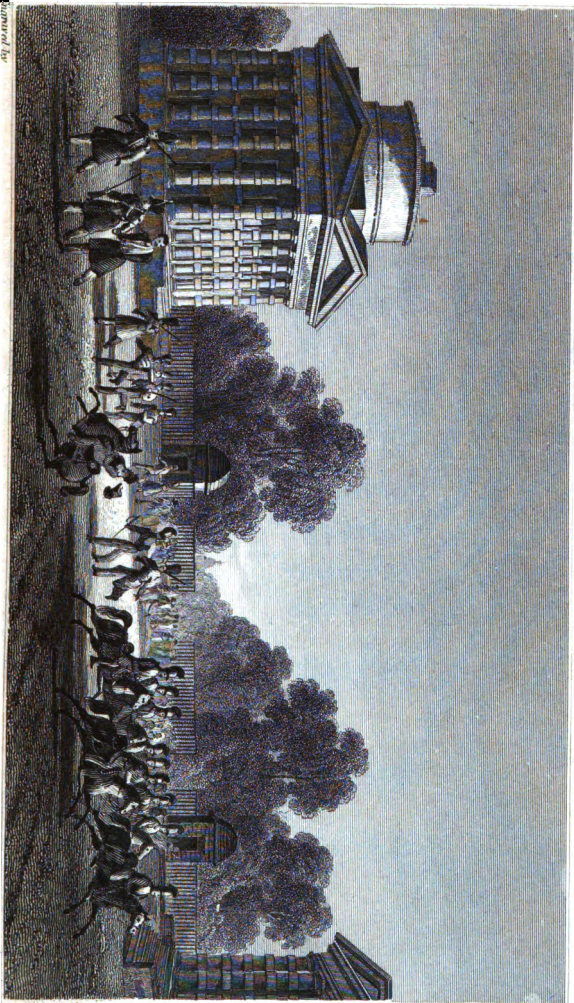
mented with an inscription purporting that it was designed for a monument to the charter.

Of the two large and richly-ornamented edifices on the north side of the Place Louis XV., the fronts of which were erected by Potain, after the designs of Gabriel, the one nearest the Tuileries originally served as a Garde-meuble, or repository for the jewels and other precious articles belonging to the Crown. The treasures preserved here, and which had been formerly kept in a building near the Louvre, were of immense value. Among a vast number of other jewels were the two celebrated diamonds known under the names of the *Sanci* and the *Regent* (from their former possessors Nicolas de Harley de Sanci, and the Regent Duke of Orleans), the latter of which had been purchased by the Duke for two millions of francs, its weight being nearly five hundred grains. On the night of the 16th of September, 1792, perhaps the greatest robbery, reckoning by the value of the plunder, that ever was attempted, was effected in the Garde-meuble. The thieves, although there were a great many of them, had contrived to introduce themselves into the building without being noticed; and the first thing which attracted attention to their proceedings was the appearance of one of them who was observed by a patrol descending from the lantern in making his exit. On being seized, his pockets were found full of gold, silver, and jewels. Another, who fell in the hurry of his descent, was also caught hold of, and was discovered to be as richly loaded. All the rest escaped, carrying with them the most precious contents of the treasury, and, among other articles, both the *Sanci* and the *Regent* diamonds. The value of the whole property abstracted was estimated at thirty-six millions of francs, or 1,500,000*l.* sterling. On the information,



however, of the two men who had been taken, their accomplices, to the number of twenty-one, were apprehended in the course of a few days; and soon after nearly all the booty they had carried off with them was recovered. Many of the objects of curiosity and value which were lodged in the Garde-meuble were afterwards dispersed and lost during the anarchy of the Revolution. The building itself was converted, under Napoleon, into the residence and offices of the Minister of Marine, a purpose for which it is still employed. It is now accordingly generally called the Admiralty (*l'Amirauté*). The Garde-meuble, which Napoleon established in the Rue des Champs Elysées was transferred, in 1826, to the Rue Bergère.

To the west, the Place Louis XV. opens into the magnificent road bordered with trees called the Avenue de Neuilly, which, after passing through the Champs Elysées, is terminated by the barrier of the same name and the spacious circular *Place de l'Etoile* with its unfinished triumphal arch in the centre. The Barrier de Neuilly (or de l'Etoile, as it is often called) was the scene of the last encounter between the troops and the people on the 29th of July 1830. We have given an engraving of the gate, with the appearance it presented on that occasion, from an original drawing; and shall recount the circumstances of the affair in our second volume. The Barriere de Neuilly, it will be perceived, consists of two square buildings, surrounded by columns of rather a peculiar construction, each being divided as it were into a succession of shafts by the intervention of salient blocks, which may be considered as forming at once, capitals to what they surmount, and pedestals in relation to what they support. The effect thus produced is not, upon the whole, un-



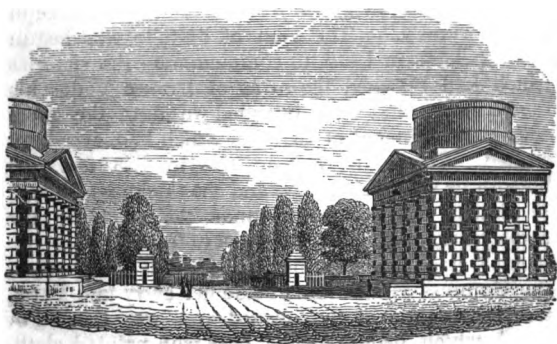
Engraved by

BARREIRE DES DETAILLES.

OU 17 1777 1800

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pleasing in a structure such as the present, where the eye looks rather for the variety and florid ornament of a work of fancy than for the grand and imposing in architecture. This barrier, like the others, was built after the designs of Ledoux, whose patron, the minister Calonne, somewhat strangely chose the period of severe financial embarrassment immediately preceding the Revolution, in which to commence the erection of these gorgeous and expensive structures. "The luxury," says a late writer, "which the architect has lavished upon these productions, offends every notion of propriety; people beheld with dis-



The Barrière de Neuilly.

pleasure and murmuring such sumptuous edifices consecrated to the purposes of an exaction oppressive to all classes in the community, and harassing in the extreme to commerce. It was to whiten sepulchres, to hold up to admiration the instruments of tyranny*."

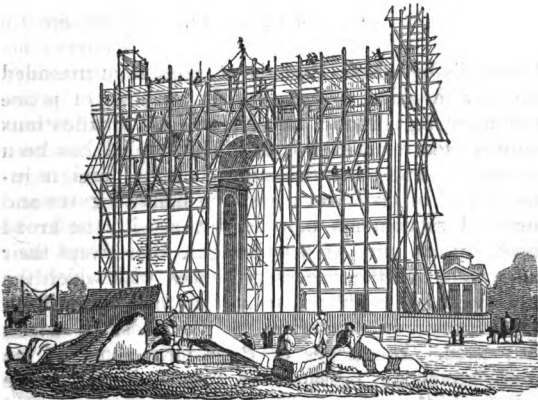
The same honest historian is not less severe in his strictures on the celebrated triumphal arch of l'Etoile.

* Dulaure, *Histoire de Paris*, ix. 397.

"The events of 1814," he says, "which Bonaparte ought to have foreseen, and which his successive invasions on the rights of the French nation and on foreign states had brought about, arrested the progress of this monument of pride which he was erecting to his own glory. The scaffolds were taken down, and the wood was employed in constructing the roof of a warehouse for corn. A Belvédère (or terrace for viewing the surrounding scenery) has been established on the top of the masses of masonry. Everything announces that the work will never be proceeded with, and that the portions of it already built will be reduced in a few years to the resemblance of ancient ruins†." The arch of l'Etoile was begun by Napoleon in 1806, to commemorate the victories which had crowned the arms of France under his sovereignty; and was intended to form the most colossal monument of the kind which had ever been erected. Its height was to rise to 133 feet, the breadth or span being 138, and the thickness 68 feet. Workmen were employed upon the structure for eight years, and immense sums of money were expended upon it. On the 1st of April 1810, when the Empress Maria Louis made her entry into Paris, a representation of the finished arch was erected of wood, which, being covered over with painted cloth, gave a sufficiently accurate notion of the whole design, and had a magnificent appearance. Notwithstanding Dulaure's anticipations, Charles X. had some years ago given orders for prosecuting the construction of this vast monument; and the work was proceeding, we believe, with considerable activity when the events of last July occurred,—the intention, however, being to dedicate the memorial to the exploits of the Duc d'Angoulême in Spain, a miserable

† Ib. p. 381.

substitution, it must be acknowledged, for the original design. We subjoin a cut of it as it appeared with the scaffolding around it immediately after the recent revolution.



The Arch of l'Etoile.

CHAPTER XIII.

SIEGES OF PARIS.

THE walls by which Paris is at present surrounded are only intended to serve certain purposes of police and fiscal regulation ; but its ancient fortifications were erected for sterner uses. This capital has been repeatedly exposed to the storm both of foreign invasion and of civil war ; and the massive gates and turretted battlements of other times, with the broad moat, crossed only by drawbridges, that swept their base, were but the necessary fences with which the inhabitants were obliged to shelter themselves from the tempestuous barbarism in the midst of which they lived. The sieges of Paris form some of the most interesting passages of French history. We propose in the present chapter to take such a rapid view as our limits permit of some of the principal of them ; aiming, as we go along, rather to collect a few of the more remarkable incidents of each, than to present any minute chronological detail of military movements.

The earliest hostile attacks to which this capital was exposed were directed against it before any portion of the town, except that in the midst of the river, could boast of a fortified inclosure at all. The Norman pirates, by whom, as already mentioned, it was repeatedly assaulted during the latter part of the ninth century, used to come against it by sailing up the Seine in fleets of boats. In this manner they ravaged the place three times in the course of fifteen or

sixteen years, without encountering even the shew of resistance either from the inhabitants themselves, whose houses they plundered and burned, or from the feeble princes who at this period filled the throne of Charlemagne. On the last of these occasions, namely in the year 861, they broke down the only bridge which then connected the Ile de la Cité with the northern side of the river, because its piers formed an obstacle to the farther passage of their large boats; and this done, they were enabled for the first time to extend their predatory incursion beyond Paris, and to attack and despoil the hitherto unvisited towns of Meaux and Melun. Such an aggravation of their customary outrages at last roused the King, Charles the Bald, to the necessity of providing some means of resisting them; and with this view he rebuilt the demolished bridge, and fortified both it and the Petit Pont with towers at each extremity. Deterred probably by these preparations for defence on the part of their former victims, the pirates did not again venture to approach Paris for nearly a quarter of a century; but at last in 885 the part of the river immediately below the town once more appeared crowded with their boats. The vessels are said to have covered a space of two leagues, and to have carried a force of no fewer than 30,000 men. The invaders, respecting the improved resources of their enemies, now only demanded that they should be allowed to proceed up the river, on which condition they promised to leave Paris untouched. This proposal not having been listened to, they resolved to besiege the city; and on the twenty-fifth of November they made their first attack upon it. Besides the towers already spoken of at the extremities of the two bridges, Paris appears by this time to have been strengthened by a variety of other defences; among which is particularly mentioned a

wooden erection, having a foundation of masonry, which stood at the west end of the Ile de la Cité, adjoining the Palais de Justice, then the residence of Count Eudes, the governor or feudal lord of the town. This citadel formed throughout the siege the principal object against which the assailants directed their efforts; but although they persevered in their attempts to destroy or gain possession of it for more than thirteen months, during which it was subjected to eight successive attacks, they were at last obliged to relinquish the enterprise. They then employed themselves in laying waste the open country around Paris; but the spoil they thus obtained was of very inferior amount to what they had been wont to carry away in their former incursions. All articles of value, and especially the rich ornaments, images, and other transportable possessions of the religious houses (not forgetting their boxes of saints' bones and other holy relics), had been removed before the commencement of the siege, and deposited within the city under the shelter of the recently erected fortifications. The King, Charles the Fat, at last ventured to advance at the head of a numerous army against the ravagers of his territory; and he actually approached as near the scene of their devastations as the plain below Montmartre. But here he stopped, and, instead of fighting, entered into negotiations with the invaders, and agreed to pay them the sum of fourteen hundred marks on condition of their raising the siege. Having obtained these terms, the Normans quietly proceeded to pull their boats up from the water, and to draw them along the land till they reached the part of the river immediately above the city, where they set them again afloat. After this they continued their voyage without farther impediment; and a few months more saw them return to Paris, loaded with the plunder of the towns on the banks of the upper

part of the Seine, of the Marne, and of the Yonne, to receive payment of the stipulated price of their forbearance in regard to that capital. This siege has been rendered the more memorable by a curious Latin poem of which it forms the subject, and which has come down to us, written by Abbo, a brother of the monastery of St. Germain-des-Prés, who was an eye-witness of the events which he describes*.

Paris was not again subjected to any hostile assault for nearly a century from this time. In 978, the Emperor Otho II. advanced against it with an army of sixty thousand men, and, falling upon the suburb to the north of the river, set it on fire. The formidable numbers of the assailants, however, did not deter the French King Lothaire from going out to meet them; and in a battle which ensued in the neighbourhood of the scene of Otho's recent devastations, that commander was beaten with great slaughter, and forced to retire upon the heights of Montmartre, where he endeavoured to blunt the sense of his defeat by making his troops sing a hallelujah in celebration of the honour he had won by having advanced so near the city as to have struck one of its gates with his lance. But Otho, thus so ready to forget a battle lost and a large portion of his army destroyed, in the glory of an exploit attended with no consequences whatever, was soon furnished with more recollections of the same unpleasant sort to drown, if he chose, in psalms of triumph. Being again attacked by Lothaire, on the ground where he had encamped, he sustained a second defeat still more complete than the former, and, being put

* This poem, which consists of two books, is printed in the second volume of Duchesne's *Historiæ Francorum Scriptores* (Paris, 1636), and in other similar collections. It has also been published separately.

to flight, was pursued as far as Soissons, where he was obliged to leave all his baggage to be the spoil of his conqueror.

We pass over many disturbances and civil conflicts of which Paris or its vicinity was the theatre, during the gloom of the eleventh and the two following centuries. The misgovernment and social disorganization which generally prevailed throughout Europe during a large portion of this barbarous period, were aggravated in France by the unhappy condition of the monarchy, recently transferred to a new line, the members of which, for a long time, on every successive vacancy of the throne, divided and arrayed against each other in a family war. Paris, on various occasions, suffered greatly from these unnatural contentions; while it was exposed to more unremitted disquietude from the universal license which reigned among the nobility, or greater proprietors of the soil, in this weak and distracted state of the royal authority. The fields around the town sometimes remained for a long course of years untilled, presenting to the eye scarcely any other evidences of the land being the abode of man, except here and there the fortress of some feudal lord,—a robber who rarely issued from his den but to carry fire and devastation wherever there was aught to plunder or to destroy*. The inhabitants of the suburban parts of Paris dreaded these domestic ravagers as much as any foreign enemy. Their dwellings were repeatedly pillaged or burned, sometimes by the predatory inroad of an individual marauder, sometimes in the course of one of those fierce encounters between the partisans of opposite factions which the circumstances of the time rendered so common. It would be easy, from the notices of the old chro-

* See Dulaure, *Histoire de Paris*, ii. 15.

niers, to make an ample enumeration of localities within and around the city, which were the scenes in those remote ages of the most desolating acts of strife and violence. But it will be more interesting to the general reader to be introduced to some of the more memorable conflicts of later periods.

In 1358 Paris was the theatre of very extraordinary transactions. The reigning King John had fallen into the hands of the English at the battle of Poitiers, gained by the Black Prince, on the 19th of September, 1356; and in his absence his son Charles, the Dauphin, then scarcely twenty years of age, had been appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom. This young and inexperienced prince, however, was no sooner placed at the head of the government than he contrived by his measures to embroil himself both with the States-General, which had been assembled in the public emergency, and with some of the most influential bodies in Paris. An ordinance in particular, which he issued, commanding the currency of a debased coinage, excited deservedly the universal indignation of the commercial part of the community, at whose head stood, under the title of Provost of the Merchants, the famous Stephen Marcel, already mentioned in our introductory chapter as the chief director of the new fortifications with which it was deemed requisite at this time to enclose the city. Charles, in the ill-humour into which he was thrown by the opposition he had met with, had, after dismissing the States-General, withdrawn himself from Paris to Metz, and left his brother, the Duke of Anjou, to preside over the government. The Provost of the Merchants sought the Duke in his palace of the Louvre, and addressed him with so much resolution on the subject of the obnoxious ordinance, that he thought proper to suspend it until his brother should return. When

Charles, soon after this, repaired again to his capital, he tried by personal solicitation to seduce Marcel to desert the popular cause; but the intrepid Provost, meeting his overtures with more than rejection, only drew from the circumstance new fuel to feed the general inflammation. Charles at last deemed it best to revoke his ordinance.

This was the first time in which the royal authority in France had been so bearded by the national will. Sensible of the immense blow he had struck, Marcel resolved not to give the weakened despotism time to recover from the shock it had received. He demanded that the States-General should be re-assembled, that the evil advisers into whose hands the prince had resigned himself should be dismissed, and that the Council of Thirty-Six, which had been appointed to assist him by the States-General in their former convocation, should be restored to their places. The Dauphin had no resource but to obey the orders of the man who spoke with the voice of the whole people.

These victories over his sovereign carried the Provost of the Merchants to the height of popularity and influence, but do not seem to have satisfied his ambition. In the course of a few months more we find him at the head of an open rebellion against the royal authority. King John some time before his departure had seized by stratagem the person of his cousin, Charles le Mauvais, King of Navarre, on having ascertained that he was engaged in a conspiracy to deprive him of his crown, and had sent him a prisoner to the fortress of Arleux in Cambray. Towards the close of the year 1357, this personage contrived to make his escape from his prison, and immediately directed his steps to Paris. As soon as he reached the neighbourhood of the city he appears to have entered into negotiations with Marcel; who

met him at St. Denis, and attended him thence to the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés, where he took up his lodgings. This was on the 8th of November. On the 1st of December the royal stranger presented himself before a multitude of nearly ten thousand people who had assembled in the Pré-aux-Clercs adjoining the Abbey; and standing on an elevated platform proceeded to harangue the throng with energetic and fearless eloquence, not only on his own wrongs but on the public grievances in general. His oration produced such an effect that one sentiment of sympathy and indignation soon pervaded the immense audience. Marcel instantly took advantage of the excitement thus produced. Collecting a number of his principal adherents, he proceeded to the Palais de Justice, where the Dauphin resided. The helpless prince was again obliged to submit to whatever was demanded of him. The most complete redress was stipulated for the injuries of the King of Navarre, and on the 13th day of the same month that prince left Paris.

This event however did not bring back tranquillity to the city. On the contrary, the popular discontents immediately broke out again with greater fury than ever. Marcel now spoke of nothing less than of defending the town against the royal forces, and arming the citizens in an armed confederacy for the protection of their rights. With these views he directed all who chose to enlist in the popular party to distinguish themselves by wearing hoods half red and half green. In a short time nearly the whole population adopted this livery. It was on this occasion also that a singular plan of barricading the streets, which was frequently resorted to in after-times, was first brought into use. By Marcel's directions two strong iron hooks were fixed in the walls of the opposite houses at each end of

every street, and between these were extended heavy chains of the same metal. The river also, where it entered and left the town, was guarded by similar defences.

The hostility of the people against the government now assumed the form of an open insurrection. On the 25th of January, 1858, John Baillet, the Dauphin's treasurer, was assassinated in the streets, by Perrin Macé, a citizen. The University, and the clergy with the bishop at their head, soon after this declared for the cause of the people. Meanwhile the King of Navarre with a considerable force made his appearance before the walls. The Dauphin, environed by so many enemies, was almost reduced to the condition of a prisoner within his own palace. Even that asylum did not remain long uninvaded. On the 22nd of February, Marcel having assembled a body of his adherents, to the number of about three thousand armed men, in the Place de St. Eloi, advanced at their head against the royal residence, and soon forced his way into the apartment where Charles was. Here his followers by his command seized Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, two of the ministers, and instantly despatched them with their poniards. The blood spurted out upon the dress of the prince himself, so close to him were the murders committed. Alarmed for his own life, Charles besought the protection of the Provost. "Take my cap," replied Marcel, "and fear nothing." The Dauphin accordingly put on his head the insurrectionary cap, and gave his own gold-embroidered one to Marcel, who wore it as a trophy during the rest of the day.

For some time after this the humbled Lord-Lieutenant existed but as the puppet of the popular leader, all whose acts he professed to approve, and whose livery even he submitted to assume, graciously

accepting two pieces of cloth, the one of red and the other of green, which Marcel presented to him, to furnish caps for all the persons of his court. Meanwhile Paris continued a prey to scenes of disorder, violence, and bloodshed. At last, on the 25th of March, the Dauphin found means to escape out of the city. On this the King of Navarre was immediately received by the dominant party within the gates, and proclaimed Governor. The Dauphin, on the other hand, as soon as he found himself at liberty, took the field against the forces of his rival; and a sanguinary and devastating struggle commenced between the two armies, which soon converted the whole country for eight or ten leagues around the city into a desert.

The supremacy of the Provost of the Merchants, however, was now rapidly drawing to a close. His alliance with the King of Navarre proved his ruin. The nomination of that personage as Governor of the City had never been sanctioned by the consent of the inhabitants, and the manner in which he conducted the administration of affairs soon lost him any degree of popularity he had ever possessed. The atrocities committed by his troops in the environs added to the general detestation with which he at last came to be regarded. Yet Marcel had the imprudence, in the face of this violent and all but universal dissatisfaction, to continue the subservient abettor of Charles le Mauvais in all his acts of tyranny and schemes of ambition; thus actually doing his utmost to foster and rear up in the bosom of his country a much more oppressive and odious despotism than that which he had so lately endeavoured to destroy. The desertion of the people was the natural and deserved reward of this desertion of their cause. Perceiving the condition in which they were, he and his royal confederate resolved to

bring into the town the troops of the latter, as their only means of longer keeping in subjection the alienated and indignant citizens. On the evening of the 31st of July, accordingly, Marcel, repairing to the Porte St. Denis, ordered the guards to deliver up the keys to Joceran de Mascon, the treasurer of the King of Navarre. But he did not meet with the success he expected. The men resolutely refused to obey his commands. He attempted to intimidate them into compliance; when at last the loudness with which he spoke brought to the spot John Maillard, the Commandant of the quarter, formerly his friend, and who had not up to this time declared against him. On learning his present object, however, Maillard firmly opposed it. A hot altercation ensued, which ended by Maillard formally renouncing for ever the cause of his old leader. Immediately after this, mounting on horseback, and unfurling the national flag, he rode through the streets calling out *Montjoie St. Denis* (the old French war-cry), *for the King and the Duke*, denouncing at the same time the Provost of the Merchants as a traitor, who was attempting to deliver over his country to the King of Navarre.

This bold step was the signal for a general revolt against the usurpers. Maillard was soon at the head of a numerous array ready to follow wherever he should lead them. The partisans of the Dauphin also were up in arms under other chiefs. Meanwhile Marcel, after his disappointment at the Porte St. Denis, had resorted to some of the other gates to endeavour to obtain the keys—but with no better success. At last he went to the Porte St. Antoine—and here he yet was when Maillard and his followers were seen approaching. Their arrival was followed by that of another large body of the populace under the guidance of two gentlemen, Pepin des Essarts, and

John de Charny, the avowed adherents of the Dauphin. A terrible tumult now ensued. Cries of *Death to the Provost of the Merchants!* were heard from numerous voices. The miserable man, mounted upon a ladder, in vain endeavoured either to repel or to escape from his encompassing assailants. At last De Charny going up to him struck him a blow on the head with an axe, which instantly brought him to the ground. Every man then rushed forward to plunge his dagger in the body, which the last breath of life soon left. At the same time a considerable number of the adherents of Marcel who were with him, including several of his chief supporters, fell sacrifices to the roused indignation of the people. Fifty-four persons in all were either slaughtered on the spot, or dragged to prison. This revolution completely restored the royal authority. Three days after Charles returned to his capital to wield a more despotic sceptre than ever. His past reverses and dangers had failed to teach him either clemency or justice. One of his first acts after his restoration was the publication of a general pardon for all political offences; but the very day after, this pledge was violated by the commencement of a series of executions which did not terminate until the blood of eight or ten more of the chiefs of the late revolt had drenched the scaffold. The earnest intreaties of Gentian Tristan, who had been elected Provost of the Merchants on the death of Marcel, at last prevailed with Charles to stop in this career of vengeance.

But the miseries of the inhabitants of Paris were not yet over. The troops of the King of Navarre still continued their ravages in the environs, and at last so completely blockaded the city as to reduce it to famine. Pestilence quickly followed. In the Hotel Dieu alone the deaths rose to eighty a day. While matters were in this deplorable condition,

news arrived in the beginning of November 1359, that the English King had landed at Calais with an army of nearly a hundred thousand men, and was marching upon the capital, spreading everywhere desolation around him on his way. At last the mighty host approached the city, driving before it multitudes of the country people, who came to beseech an asylum from the pursuing foe, even within the walls which already enclosed so much destitution and wretchedness. The English army encamped in the plains of Vaugirard and Mont-Rouge to the south-west of the city; and afterwards advancing nearer the walls occupied a part of the Faubourg St. Germain. But the greater part of this Faubourg, as well as the others of St. Marcel, Nôtre Dame des Champs, and St. Jaques, which lay on this side of the town, had been, previous to the arrival of the invaders, burnt down by order of Charles, that nothing might remain but the ruin-covered earth to yield them subsistence or shelter. The recently erected walls were deemed sufficient for the security of the city; and within these Charles remained, neither making any attempt to drive off the enemy, nor noticing the arrogant defiance by which Edward would have tempted him to come forth and stand the hazard of a battle. The English King, on the other hand, after an unsuccessful attempt to enter the city by assault, contented himself during the remainder of his stay with laying waste the country as far as to Lonjumeau and Montlhéry, leaving at last scarcely a blade of grass unconsumed throughout that tract of thirteen or fourteen miles in length. Meanwhile within the walls the scarcity of victuals continued extreme, and numbers died of starvation. The septier (equal to about two English gallons) of wheat rose to the price of a hundred crowns. In the extremity of this distress an extra-

ordinary device was adopted with a view of appeasing the anger of Heaven. It was thought that if a taper of proper size were presented to the Virgin it might probably move her to intercede for the deliverance of the town. Accordingly one was made, of the prodigious length of 4455 toises, or about five miles and a half English, being that of the entire circuit of the walls, and kept burning day and night before her image in the church of Nôtre Dame. This offering continued for a long period to be repeated annually by the inhabitants of Paris. It is also recorded, that so long as the English army blockaded the city, the clocks of all the steeples, with the exception of that which tolled the curfew at eight in the evening from Nôtre Dame, were prevented from striking the hour after dark, lest the noise might hinder the sentinels from hearing the approach of the enemy. From a similar apprehension it was ordered that matins should be sung at eight o'clock in the evening instead of at the regular canonical hour of midnight—an arrangement not disagreeable to the performers of the service; and which, it has been observed, was continued in many establishments long after the circumstances which had first introduced it had ceased to exist*.

At length, however, this season of calamity was brought to a close. Edward having been forced to withdraw his troops from the absolute want of provisions, a peace between the two nations was concluded at Bretigny on the 8th of May. On the 13th of December, the same year, King John re-entered his capital, amid the tumultuous rejoicings of a people to whom the four years of his absence had been a time of almost uninterrupted suffering and humiliation.

For more than twenty years after this the Parisians

* Dulaure, *Histoire de Paris*, iii. 275.

were wont every night to stretch across the ends of their streets the chains of which mention has been made. In 1382, however, on the suppression of a formidable insurrection which had been occasioned by the tyranny of the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, the uncles and guardians of the young King Charles VI., these chains were all removed and carried away to the castle of Vincennes. Here they lay till the year 1418, when, in the midst of the furious civil disorders produced by the contest between the two factions called the *Bourguignons* and the *Armagnacs**, those of them that remained (about three hundred being found missing) were brought back by the people, and re-fixed in their former places. In 1429, while the city was in the possession of the English, it was assaulted on the morning of the 8th of September by the famous Joan of Arc. The attack, which commenced at eleven o'clock, was directed against the portion of the wall between the Portes St. Denis and St. Honoré, and lasted about four hours. The assailants were met by discharges of arrows and cannon from the ramparts, which forced them to retire, but not before their heroic leader had been wounded by an arrow in the leg, and her standard-bearer killed by her side. On the 13th of April 1436, the English, attacked at once by the inhabitants within the walls, and by the royal troops from without, evacuated the city almost without offering any resistance, many of them being slain in the streets as they attempted to make their escape, by stones thrown down upon them from the windows

* So called from the Duke of Burgundy, the uncle of Charles VI. and the Count Bernard d'Armagnac, Constable of France, one of the principal supporters of the Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII., against his imbecile father and his infamous mother. The dissensions of these two factions inflicted the most terrible evils on Paris, before the distraction into which they threw the kingdom ended in its conquest and occupation by the English.

and the house-tops. Others of them who succeeded in retiring into the Bastille were soon after obliged to surrender; when, although their arms were taken from them, their lives were spared.

The 12th of May, 1588, is famous in French history, under the name of the *Day of the Barricades*. Henry, Duke of Guise, the same who acted so conspicuous a part in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was at this time by far the most powerful individual in France. The celebrated association, called the League, of which he was the head, now embraced an immense majority of all the Catholics in the kingdom, and in Paris especially, the names of nearly the whole population, with the exception of those who had embraced the principles of the reformed faith, were inscribed in the lists of its adherents. By the great body of its supporters the League was regarded merely as a confederation for the defence of their common religion; but the main object of the Secret Council of Sixteen, by whom all its affairs were regulated, was to place the Duke of Guise on the throne. Hence it was against the King himself, Henry III., although a good Catholic, that the machinations of this formidable conspiracy came eventually to be most perseveringly directed. By the time of which we speak the Duke of Guise had, by these means, been elevated to so high a place in the regards of the multitude, while his rival had been rendered so completely the object of their hatred and contempt, that there seemingly remained little for the former to do in order to possess himself of both the authority and the name of king, except boldly to seize what he so eagerly coveted. This, accordingly, he now prepared to attempt.

At an early hour on the morning of the day we have mentioned, the city of Paris presented an extraordinary aspect. On the one hand the King, aware

of the intention of the Duke to attempt the seizure of his person, had not neglected to surround himself with such protection as he could command. Between one and two o'clock a body of four thousand Swiss, who had been lodged for some time in the Faubourg St. Denis, had been introduced within the walls by the Porte St. Honoré, and stationed in the Place de Grève and in the Marché Neuf (in the *Cité*). Two thousand French guards also occupied the Petit-Pont, the Pont St. Michel, and the Pont Nôtre Dame. Scarcely had these different forces had time to assume their allotted posts, when the people also, on their part, were astir in every quarter of the city. By half-past four the cry of *To arms! to arms!* was heard resounding through all the streets, and every man was hurrying to his already appointed station. The chains were now everywhere stretched across the ends of the streets. But in a short time still more formidable defences made their appearance. A party of armed students and artisans, under the direction of the Duke of Brissac, one of the chiefs of the League, having torn up the pavement, with the stones, and the earth trodden hard in casks, constructed the first barricade. This was in the Place Maubert, in the south-west quarter of the town. By noon similar erections were to be seen in every street—some within fifty paces of the Louvre, where the King was. All these fortifications were defended by bodies of musqueteers. Others of the inhabitants were stationed on the roofs and at the upper windows of the houses, for the purpose of throwing down stones upon the soldiers.

The effect of these dispositions was so completely to hem in and command the royal forces, as, notwithstanding their numbers, to render them almost altogether powerless. When a party of the guards attempted to move towards the Rue St. Severin, im-

mediately to the south of the Petit Pont, with the intention of occupying that street, they were pushed back upon the bridge by the people, with a force which they found it in vain to try to resist. But the first outbreaking of actual hostilities was occasioned by one of the soldiers firing upon the people in the **Rue Neuve Notre Dame**. A volley of musketry and a shower of stones fell at once among the Swiss who occupied the **Marché Neuf**; and twenty or thirty, or, as some accounts say, as many as sixty of these troops fell dead upon the ground. Many more would have perished had not the Duke of Brissac interfered, and rescued the men from their enraged assailants, by admitting them under the cover of some shambles which adjoined the market-place. Meantime the guards stationed on the bridges were also attacked, and instantly put to flight. Thus the King's troops were everywhere dispersed, and only to be seen flying along the streets before their pursuers. The city remained completely in possession of the people.

In this state of affairs Henry had no other resource but to apply to the leader of the revolt, the Duke of Guise himself, and to request him to exert his influence with the people to stop the carnage. The Duke, deeming the end of all his hopes effectually attained by the completeness of the victory which had crowned the arms of his adherents, was not unwilling to prove how easily he could allay the tempest he had excited. Towards four o'clock in the afternoon, therefore, he came forth for the first time that day from his house—the same now called the **Hotel de Soubise**, in which the national records are kept,—and proceeded to shew himself in different parts of the city. Wherever he appeared he was received with shouts of *Guise for ever!* His orders that hostilities should cease were instantly obeyed. He then

desired Brissac to conduct the remains of the royal forces to the Louvre, making them march bareheaded, and with their arms reversed. For that night, at least, Guise was king in Paris. The captains of the city guard even came to ask him for the countersign, refusing to receive it from the Provost of the Merchants, who used to give it them in the name of the King. In a letter which he addressed the next morning to the governor of Orleans, we find him remarking, with all the delight of gratified ambition, that the Louvre being now invested by his adherents, he had no fear of being able to render a good account of that which it inclosed. But here he was doomed to be disappointed. By noon that day Henry contrived to make his escape from his palace. On the following day he reached Chartres, whither, in less than a week, a deputation came to him from his faithful subjects at Paris, imploring him to forget the outrages committed on the day of the Barricades, and to return to his now tranquillized and repentant capital. The result of all this was a feigned reconciliation between Henry and the Duke; but the former was not to be prevailed upon to return to Paris. Soon after this the King having received certain information that Guise was plotting his death, at last determined to rid himself of so turbulent a subject, and had him assassinated on the 23rd of December, in the Castle of Blois. Next day his brother, the Cardinal de Lorraine, underwent the same fate.

The destruction of the Duke of Guise did not restore Henry to the peaceful possession of his throne. On the contrary, the opposition of the people of Paris, fomented by the partisans of the murdered Duke, broke out again with more violence than ever. Regarded now as the bloodiest enemy of the national faith, and even openly denounced as such from

every pulpit in the city, Henry had only one way of recovering possession of his capital, by entering it, as he had sworn to do when casting his last look upon it in his precipitate flight, through a breach made by his cannon in the walls. With this view he resolved upon adopting the extraordinary step of forming an alliance with his great adversary, Henry of Navarre. The two princes met accordingly on the 30th of April, 1589, at Plessis-les-Tours, and, forgetting their past differences, agreed for the future to unite their forces and their interests. Towards the end of July they set out together at the head of their troops to attack Paris. But while the two kings were still at St. Cloud, on the 1st of August a Dominican monk, James Clement, an emissary of the Leaguers, having contrived to obtain access to Henry of France, stabbed him in the abdomen, and he died of the wound on the following day. Thus perished another of the chief criminals of the St. Bartholomew, finding the same bloody death which he had himself only a few months before inflicted on his fellow actor in that terrible tragedy. In the short interval also between the assassinations of the Duke of Guise and the King, namely on the 5th of January, had descended to the grave the original projector and prime mover of the massacre, the notorious Catherine de Medicis.

CHAPTER XIV.

SIEGES OF PARIS,—CONCLUDED.

ON the 31st of October Henry of Navarre, bearing the title of Henry IV. of France, appeared with his army immediately under the walls of Paris, occupying the villages of Gentilly, Mont-Rouge, Vaugirard, and the others in the same vicinity. He resolved, in the first place, to make an attempt to gain possession of the Faubourgs on that side of the city. An assault was therefore made upon that of St. Germain. Sully, who was one of the leaders on this occasion, tells us that in a street near the Foire, or Market-place, of St. Germain, having inclosed a crowd of the inhabitants between two troops, they slew four hundred of them in a space of less than two hundred paces in extent. These unhappy victims made no attempt to defend themselves; and Sully says that he at last became weary of merely striking them to the ground, and called out that he would kill no more of them. Did the people, then, thus lavishly massacred, refuse to surrender? or were the orders that no quarter should be given? The affair has the appearance of being one of the most barbarous butcheries that ever disgraced the annals of war. Sully, however, does not seem to view it in that light, but goes on to inform us, that after discontinuing the slaughter the soldiers began the work of pillage, and that he and a few of his men having merely entered six or seven houses and come out again, the booty they obtained was so considerable that by good hap there fell to his share some

two or three thousand crowns*. Dulauré conjectures that the scene of this destructive attack was probably either the Rue de Tournon, or the Rue de Condé, now called the Rue Neuve†. The assailants afterwards advanced to the Port Nesle (which stood near the spot now occupied by the east wing of the Palais des Beaux Arts), and some of them even passed through the gate, which they found open. But a party of troops here appearing forced them to retire.

Two days after this the royal army left Paris to undertake the siege of Etampes. Henry did not again present himself before the walls of his rebellious capital till the beginning of May in the following year. His intention was now to blockade the place instead of endeavouring to take it by assault; and that he might be able to environ it the more completely, he resolved, as his first operation, to attempt to make himself master of all the faubourgs. On the night of the 8th of the above month, therefore, which was very dark, his army having been divided into ten parts, commenced, exactly at twelve o'clock, a simultaneous attack upon the ten faubourgs by which Paris was then surrounded‡, and, after a hot fire of two hours, carried every point. "Could a picture of this night be drawn," says Sully, "in which the noise of the cries and the reports of the arquebuses should be faithfully represented, as well as the sparks

* Sully, *Œconomies Royales*, Part I., cap. xxix.

† *Histoire de Paris*, v. 91.

‡ Sully's enumeration of the Parisian faubourgs, on this occasion, includes all those dependencies of the capital now usually so designated, with the exception of those of the Temple, of Poissonnière, and of Le Roule, and with the addition of those of St. Michel and St. Victor, to the south of the river, now included within the city. The boundary of the city at this time, it will be recollected, was still the wall begun by Stephen Marcel in the reign of John, and rebuilt in that of Charles VI.; for an account of which see chap. i. pp. 16, 17.

of fire which in so many places were seen ascending into the air, there would be nothing in all the world so admirable*." Henry had now only to place his guards at the different gates of the city, and to remain with his army until the inhabitants, shut up within their walls, and deprived of all supplies, should be forced by famine to surrender the place. This turned out to be by far the most cruel course that could have been adopted towards the unfortunate Parisians. Nothing like such misery, or such destruction of life, could have been inflicted in the sack of the town by the most brutal soldiery as was produced by this lingering blockade. History, in its darkest pages, records nothing more terrible than some of the horrors we have now to relate.

At the time when Henry thus sat down before Paris, there were not within the city provisions for the inhabitants for a fortnight. But the royal forces having been withdrawn for a few days to take possession of Nantes, the besieged succeeded during that interval in obtaining some additional stores. On the 13th a census of the inhabitants was taken, when it was found that there were within the walls two hundred thousand individuals in all, with a month's consumption of wheat, besides fifteen hundred hogsheads of oats.

The Duke of Mayenne, the brother of the late Duke of Guise, had been despatched to solicit succours from the Duke of Parma; and on the arrival of this foreign aid rested their chief hopes of relief. Sallies, however, were on many occasions made by the garrison. On the 14th of May a party, rushing out by the Porte St. Antoine, drove the King's forces from the Abbey of the adjoining faubourg, and obtained some valuable booty from the plunder of the nunnery. On the 1st of June another sortie,

* *Œconomies Royales*, Part I, chap. xxxi.

made upon the Faubourg St. Marcel, also had the effect of compelling the enemy in that quarter to retire to some distance. But such successes were productive of little or no real advantage.

Although arrangements had been made from the first for supplying bread to the poorer classes at a reduced price, complaints of commencing scarcity soon began to be heard. Every device was resorted to in order to keep up the spirits and the resolution of the people. In this task the clergy with peculiar zeal co-operated with the authorities. Their daily sermons consisted principally of the most outrageous invectives against the heretic pretender to the crown, and denunciations of the vengeance of Heaven on all who should venture, in word or in thought, to give the least countenance to his claims. The Sorbonne had already published a decree declaring Henry to be incapable of reigning, even if he should recant his heresy and be absolved from it by the Pope himself. At other times these unscrupulous fanatics used to read from their pulpits pretended notes from the Duke de Mayenne, announcing his speedy arrival, —a mode of sacred oratory which came to be called by the people, *preaching by post-letters* (*précher par billets*). In addition to all this, spectacles and processions of the gayest sort were continually exhibited for the amusement of the multitude. The priests and other religious persons, with the Bishop of Senlis at their head, even appeared one day drawn up in military array, and with muskets on their shoulders, to be reviewed. As the persons composing this clerical regiment came all dressed in their usual canonical attire, and many of them brandishing crucifixes and singing psalms, the display altogether was sufficiently extraordinary, and many of the crowd could not restrain their laughter. However, the shew did not pass off without something of tragedy too; for the

Pope's legate having appeared on the ground in an open carriage, accompanied by several other distinguished ecclesiastics, one of the holy fathers in the ranks, forgetting that his gun was loaded with ball, fired it off by way of saluting the party, and killed the almoner of the legate as he sat by his master's side. Another measure which the authorities adopted was to make the whole population take an oath to die rather than surrender.

All that was done, however, could not repress murmurs of discontent and impatience as the scarcity became more pinching. On the 4th of June, several persons were seized for having said that it would be well to make peace, and were thrown into the river. Others were hanged or sent to prison for similar offences. On the 15th the parliament passed a decree, making it a crime punishable with death, to speak either of peace or truce with Henry. Two days after this, some additional provisions found their way into the city; but neither this, and other small supplies, nor the measures of severity resorted to by the government, nor the exhortations of the preachers, could repress the cry of hunger among the miserable population. It was then ordered that the religious houses, which were found to be much more plentifully victualled than any others in the city, should divide their stores with the poor. But this resource was soon exhausted.

Meanwhile, Henry having received reinforcements to his small army, was enabled to invest the city more closely than at first. The introduction of even the smallest quantity of provisions became now almost impossible. Even the courage of the sallying parties failed in enabling them to cut their way through the superior forces by which they were now opposed. It was in vain that it was attempted to repel the enemy by discharges of cannon from the

walls. All efforts of every kind proved useless in bringing either relief or hope.

In this extremity, it was ordered that all the cats and dogs should be brought in, killed, and their flesh dressed for the use of the poor. For this purpose, public kitchens were established in the different quarters of the city, where the meat was boiled in large cauldrons, and distributed every day, along with an ounce of bread to each person. In this manner the people were supported for a fortnight. About two hundred horses and eight hundred asses and mules had previously been slaughtered, and their flesh sold at a high price.

After this, the poor ate the skins of all these different animals. These, however, they soon consumed. They were then obliged to resort to still more loathsome food. "I have seen some," says a writer, who was in Paris during this siege, "devouring the raw flesh of dogs they had found dead in the streets; others, entrails which had been thrown into the kennel; others, rats and mice, which had been in like manner cast away, and above all, the bones of the heads of dogs bruised into a sort of meal*."

Famine now began to mow down the population. Every morning a hundred and fifty or two hundred dead bodies were found lying in the streets. To the numbers of those who thus perished of mere hunger, were added many more destroyed by pestilential diseases, which were engendered by the sort of food on which they had been obliged to exist. So many died that it became scarcely possible to have the bodies fast enough interred.

On the night of the 23d of July, a number of the poor having contrived under the cover of the dark-

* Pierre Corneio, *Bref Discours et Veritable sur la Siège de Paris*, p. 54.

ness to slide down from the wall into the moat, went to Henry and throwing themselves at his feet, besought him to allow them to quit the city. The King was so moved by their account of the wretched state in which the people were, that next day he permitted three thousand of the poorer classes to pass out through the gates. This clemency on the part of Henry only had the effect of confirming the obstinacy of the Leaguers, and protracting the siege. The conduct of the officers of the royal army contributed to produce the same result. Sully assures us that the town could never have stood out so long as it did; had not most of the King's captains and others in authority carried on a clandestine traffic with the inhabitants, tempted by the "scarfs, plumes, rich stuffs, silk stockings, gloves, girdles, beaver-hats, and other such finery," which the famishing people were willing to part with for a little food.*

Notwithstanding the scanty relief, however, which individuals occasionally obtained in this manner, the general misery continued rapidly to increase. On the 27th, a deputation of citizens from the different quarters waited on the Duke of Nemours, the governor, and implored him with tears to consent to a surrender, assuring him that thirty thousand of the inhabitants had already perished of hunger. A few days afterwards a more numerous body assembled in arms at the Palais de Justice, and with loud cries demanded either peace or bread. The ringleaders in this commotion were all thrown into prison, and two of them were hanged. But by this time the great body of the population were literally without food of any kind. Not a cat, or dog, or rat was to be found within the city; every green leaf was consumed. Revolting, therefore, as had been the expedients to which their previous necessities had driven them,

* *Œconomies Royales*, part I. chap. xxxi.

those to which they were now reduced were still more sad. They actually pounded slates, and baked the dust into a sort of bread. Nay, most horrible of all, they at last rifled the very graves for food; and extracting the bones from the dead bodies of their fellow-creatures, ground, and baked, and ate them. A few even sustained themselves on human flesh. One story is well authenticated of a mother who, when her two children died, instead of sending the bodies to be buried, salted them, and, with her female servant, fed on them for several days. Most of the persons who endeavoured to support life on these unnatural descriptions of aliment, soon died.

Hunger and disease at last thinned the ranks of the population to such a degree as to reduce some parts of the city almost to uninhabited solitudes. It has been asserted that the number of persons who perished, in the space of three months, actually amounted to not less than a hundred thousand, or half the entire population of the town. Such a state of things was too dreadful even for the besiegers to contemplate unmoved. Henry himself exclaimed that he would rather Paris never were his, than that it should come into his possession thus reduced to little better than a desert; and repeatedly allowed supplies of provisions to pass in. At an interview which he held on the 10th of August with a deputation from the chiefs of the League in the Abbey of St. Antoine, he even agreed to their request of a truce for ten days; and during this interval, he generously granted passports to as many of the ladies, scholars, and ecclesiastics, as chose to quit the city. The conclusion of the time agreed upon, however, for the cessation of hostilities arrived, without any disposition having been manifested on the part of the Leaguers to capitulate; and the miserable Parisians found themselves again closely shut up within their walls,

and with the prospect before them of a renewal, for they knew not how long, of all their past sufferings.

But deliverance came when all hope of it was well nigh extinguished. Having received information of the approach of the Duke of Parma, Henry; two hours before daybreak on the 30th of August, set out with his whole forces to give him battle. The sentinels stationed on the walls of Paris could hardly believe that their eyes did not deceive them when they looked around in the morning and saw no enemy. Their cries of joy soon awakened the inhabitants, who, also at first half incredulous of the happy tidings, thronged to the ramparts to satisfy themselves that the troops were indeed gone. When the news was generally spread, the authorities and the people mingled together their utterances of congratulation and thanksgiving. A solemn *Te Deum* was performed, and a procession of extraordinary magnificence crowned the day of triumph and jubilee.

Thus ended this famous blockade—with no result to either party, after all the misery and mortality it had occasioned. Nearly four years elapsed before Henry at last succeeded in making himself master of Paris; and then he accomplished his entry into the place not by force of arms, but by the seduction of its defenders. On the 25th of July, 1593, the King pronounced his abjuration of the Protestant faith at St. Denis; but although this event drew over to his side many of the people who had hitherto been partisans of the League, it did not subdue the opposition of the heads of the confederacy. On the contrary, they all again took a solemn oath on the cross, the gospels, and the consecrated wafer, to continue while they lived to maintain the League, and never to acknowledge Henry of Navarre as King of France. Not many months after this, however,

the Count de Brissac, the Governor of Paris, following the example set him by most of those who held the other principal towns of the kingdom, agreed to admit Henry into the city on receiving a bribe of 1,695,000 livres. At four o'clock on the morning of the 22d of March, 1594, Brissac himself and Lhuillier, Provost of the Merchants, repaired with silent footstep to the Porte Neuve, which was situated on the Quay of the Louvre, a little above the present Pont Royal. Having caused their attendants to remove the earth which had been raised about the gate to prevent its opening, they left it in the keeping of guards on whom they could depend. The same thing was done at the Portes of St. Honoré and St. Denis. It was five o'clock before the first party of the royal troops made their appearance, having been detained considerably beyond the appointed time by the state of the roads. They advanced towards the Porte Neuve, which opened on their approach. Leaving a portion of his men to guard this entrance, the commander proceeded with the rest past the church of St. Thomas du Louvre, and took up his station in the open space called La Croise du Trahoir, at the junction of the Rues de l'Arbre Sec and de St. Honoré. Another party entered by the Porte St. Honoré; and, by the Porte St. Denis, a third under the command of the Sieur de Vitry, who immediately occupied the ramparts with his men, and turned the guns against the city. Subsequently other detachments entered both by the river and the Porte Neuve, and took up their ground respectively on the Quays des Celestins and de l'Ecole. The only opposition yet met with was encountered by the latter, who were attacked on the quay by a party of German troops, thirty of whom they killed, and threw the rest into the river*.

* Dulaure, *Histoire de Paris*, v. 141—143.

These dispositions having been made, Brissac, accompanied by the Provost of the Merchants, now went to announce what had been done to the King, and to conduct him into his capital. Ancient recollections, and fears lest his present half-accomplished enterprise should yet miscarry, combined at this interesting moment to agitate Henry; and it is said that he thrice entered the city and returned, before he found himself able to proceed. At last, about seven o'clock, surrounded by a numerous escort of horse, he rode in by the Porte Neuve, and, advancing to the Louvre, took possession of that palace of his ancestors. No one had attempted to stop him on his way; and even after the news of what had taken place had spread itself over the city, the Leaguers almost everywhere remained as if spell-bound with surprise and consternation. Only in the quarter of the University two or three individuals, one of them a priest, Hamilton, curate of St. Côme, and another, a military functionary, called Usur, who was lame, and commonly passed by the name of *Wooden-leg*, had the boldness to talk of resistance. They even armed themselves and proceeded to take measures to stir up the populace; but as they were hurrying along the streets and calling out to have the chains extended and barricades raised, Captain Usur, in his excitement, chancing to stumble, broke both his wooden leg and his musket; and this unlucky incident threw such an air of burlesque over the whole affair that these heroes found it necessary to abandon their enterprise. At nine o'clock the King again came forth from the palace, and, attended by a brilliant cortège, rode along the streets of St. Honoré and La Ferronnerie, from whence, turning down the Rue St. Denis, he proceeded across the Pont Notre Dame, into the *Cité*. Then, entering the cathedral, he was received by the archdeacon and the chapter, and re-

mained while a mass and a *Te Deum* were performed ; after which he returned to the Louvre. In the evening he proceeded to a house in the neighbourhood of the Port St. Denis, and witnessed from the window the departure of the Spanish troops, about 3,000 in number, accompanied by the ambassador of their royal master. The day was concluded by public rejoicings throughout the city, during which the people made the air ring with their cries of *Vive le roi!*

It would carry us far beyond the limits which we must prescribe to ourselves, under our present head, were we to enter with any minuteness into the details of the protracted public convulsions of which Paris was the theatre in the minority of Louis XIV. We must confine ourselves, therefore, to a brief notice of a few leading incidents. The measures of the court at this time, directed by the able and profligate Mazarin, as prime minister under the Regent Anne of Austria, the King's mother, were strenuously opposed by the famous association denominated the *Fronde**, the partisans of which formed a decided majority both of the parliament of Paris and of the public at large. The *Fronde* had its *Day of the Barricades* as well as the *League*. It was on the 26th of August, 1648, that, by the command of Mazarin, Peter Broussel, one of the counsellors of the parliament, was seized, in his own house, in the Rue St. Landri, in the *Cité*, and carried to prison. Broussel was so distinguished a leader of the popular party in the parliament, that he had acquired the titles of *Father of the People* and *Patriarch of the Fronde*. His arrest, therefore, as might have been expected, produced an extraordinary sensation. A cry of rescue was almost

* Its members called themselves *Frondeurs*, or *slingers*, conceiving themselves able to overthrow Mazarin with the same ease as David with his sling did Goliath.

immediately set up by the people in the neighbourhood of his residence ; and as soon as the news of the event reached the other parts of the town, the inhabitants everywhere flew to arms, the chains were extended across the streets, and the pavement began to be torn up in numerous places, to form barricades, as had been done in the time of Henry III *.

On learning the state of commotion in which the town was, the court deemed it advisable to order several regiments of the French and Swiss guards to occupy the Pont au Change, the Pont Neuf, and the wooden bridge called the Pont Barbier, which stood at the place of the present Pont Royal. This last post, however, was the only one of the three which the troops eventually found themselves able to maintain. Pressed upon by the multitude, they were quickly obliged to retire from both the others, when they took up their station in the vicinity of the Palais Royal, where the Regent resided. On this, as on the former day of the Barricades, the manner in which the people had entrenched themselves gave them the complete command of the streets, and rendered any military force which might be brought against them almost as incapable of acting as if every soldier had been hand-bound.

In this crisis a personage, who afterwards became very famous, presented himself before the multitude. This was the Coadjutor† de Retz, as he was then called, more familiarly known by his subsequent title of Cardinal. He came dressed in his pontifical robes to the Pont Neuf, and, addressing the people, endeavoured to persuade them to return to their homes. But they replied, that they were determined to continue in arms till Broussel should be set at liberty.

* Dulaure, *Histoire de Paris*, vi. 284.

† He was Coadjutor, that is, assistant, with the right of succession in the see, to his uncle, the Archbishop of Paris.

De Retz immediately sought the presence of the Regent, and representing to her the temper in which the people were, earnestly advised her to yield to their demand. For some time his eloquence appeared likely to produce no more effect in the palace than it had done on the Pont Neuf; but at length the concurrence of other persons in the same advice, and the growing danger, overcame the obstinacy of the Regent, and De Retz and the Marshal de Meilleraie were sent to announce to the people that, as soon as they should have laid down their arms and dispersed, Broussel should be restored to liberty. The two accordingly set out together, along the Rue St. Honoré, at the head of a party of light horse, to make this proclamation; but the Marshal having thought proper to advance calling out *Vive le roi!* with his drawn sword in his hand, the people, when they saw him, imagined he came to make an attack upon them; and, when he reached the Rue de Richelieu, a man raised his sword to strike him, whom he instantly shot dead. He then proceeded onwards as far as the corner of the Rue de l'Arbre Sec; but here the concourse of people looked so formidable, that he deemed it best not to attempt to make his way through them. He therefore withdrew his troops; and the people also, after a short time, retired to their houses.

All this, however, was but the preparatory part of the drama. The next, the 27th, was the great day. At an early hour in the morning, while all was yet quiet on the part of the people, two companies of Swiss guards were observed marching to take possession of the Porte Nesle. The barricaders at this sight instantly resumed their arms, and boldly throwing themselves upon the soldiers, soon killed thirty of them, and put the rest to flight. Meanwhile the Chancellor Séguier had been despatched by the Re-

gent to the parliament with an order forbidding any discussion on the matters by which the public mind was agitated; and not having been able to make his way to the Palais de Justice by the quays lining the *Ile de la Cité*, on account of the barricades, he had crossed the Pont Neuf, and was proceeding along the Quay des Augustins, on the south side of the river, when just as he almost reached the Pont St. Michel he was recognized by the now excited multitude. Conjecturing his object, or suspecting at least, from his notorious subserviency to the Court, that he was on no good errand, they immediately ran to attack him. To escape their vengeance he took refuge in the Hotel de Luynes, which stood on the quay, at the corner of the Rue Gît-le-Cœur; but hither also they pursued him, beating in the door, and searching for him through all the apartments. The closet, however, in which he was concealed eluded their scrutiny. Not being able to find him, they were about to set fire to the house, when the Marshal de la Meilleraie, coming up with a considerable military force, succeeded in getting him into a coach, and drove off with him towards the Palais Royal. Still the mob were determined not to lose their victim. Pursuing the soldiers, they fired upon them, and wounded several before they attained the end of the quay. On entering upon the Pont Neuf, the Marshal turned round, and discharging a pistol among the crowd, killed a woman. This outrage added new fuel to the popular indignation. As the carriage passed the statue of Henry IV. at the middle of the bridge, many shots were fired at it from the houses in the Place Dauphine, by one of which Séguier's daughter, the Duchess of Sully, who sat beside him, was wounded in the arm, while two gentlemen were killed by others. The Chancellor, however, at last was rescued from the danger, and placed out of the reach of his pursuers.

The city was now in a state of universal insurrection. Before ten o'clock the number of barricades raised in the different streets exceeded two hundred; some of them being close upon the Palais Royal. Colours were planted on all these ramparts; and behind each stood an array of armed citizens, already flushed with victory, and rather desiring than dreading a new encounter with the handful of military whom they had as yet scattered or put to flight wherever they had met them. It was evident to all how the contest must end: the Regent and her minister stood almost alone in thinking that resistance to the popular will could be attempted with a chance of success. The Parliament now went in a body to the Palais Royal, and requested the liberation of Broussel: but to this petition the Regent obstinately refused to listen, and the counsellors, after pressing it with all the earnestness they could, were obliged to withdraw without obtaining their object. As they were returning on foot along the Rue St. Honoré, they were stopped by the people at the Croix du Trahoir, when an individual calmly advancing from the rest asked the President if he had brought back M. Broussel with him. On the President replying in the negative, and adding that they were on their way back to the Palais de Justice to deliberate on what farther steps ought to be adopted, "No," said the orator of the people, firmly, "you must go back to the Palais Royal, and bring us Broussel; without him you shall not pass." Others of the crowd were more intemperate; one man having actually seized the President by the beard, in the intention, as he said, of detaining him as a hostage till Broussel should be set at liberty, while some called aloud that the true plan was to set the Palais Royal on fire, and without more ado to poniard the Cardinal and all his

adherents. The Parliament had no other resource but to repair again to the royal presence; but the Regent was still resolute against yielding to their intreaty. They then held a sitting in the gallery of the Palace, at which Mazarin himself was present. On the matter being debated, the necessity of complying with the popular demand became so evident, that it was unanimously determined to adopt that course. The order for the liberation of Broussel was made out immediately, and the people were at the same time informed of what had been done; but they declared they would remain under arms till they actually beheld the counsellor in the midst of them. This they did on the following morning, when, after celebrating their triumph by several salutes of artillery, all returned peaceably to their homes. Next day, by order of the Parliament, the barricades were levelled and the chains unstretched; and the town, so recently bristling with revolt, resumed every where its usual appearance.

In the course of the civil dissensions which at this period distracted France, Paris was besieged in the summer of 1652 by the great Condé. The most memorable event of this siege was the battle of the Faubourg St. Antoine, which took place on the 2d of July. On that occasion Condé was stationed with his forces in the principal street of the faubourg, having the town with its gates shut against him on the one extremity of his line, and the royal army, under the command of Marshal Turenne, on the other. His position, into which he had been induced to throw himself by a miscalculation of his opponent's movements, was such that it seemed hardly possible he could escape being cut to pieces. At first he took refuge with his men in the houses along the street; but the Marshal, having received a reinforcement, soon proceeded to drive him from

that shelter. He then endeavoured to penetrate into Paris, and making a circuit round the town, applied for admission successively at the gates of the Conference (which was situated at the western extremity of the garden of the Tuileries), of St. Honoré, of St. Denis, and of St. Martin; but at none of them could he induce the guards to allow him to enter. At last he came to the Porte St Antoine, when, to his great joy, he found that the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, who had always been his friend, and was very popular with the Parisians, had been exerting herself here in his behalf, and had actually prevailed upon the citizens to admit him. At her solicitation the cannons of the Bastile were even turned against the royal army, to prevent Turenne from attempting to pursue his enemy into the asylum he had so unexpectedly found. Nearly three thousand men, however, had already fallen in this action. As for the prince himself, "he entered Paris," says the Count de Chavagnac, who was present, "like a god Mars, mounted on a steed full of foam, holding his head aloft, and all proud of the deeds he had just been performing; he held his sword in his hand, steeped to the hilt in the blood of his enemies; and thus did he pass along the streets in the midst of the acclamations and praises which it was impossible to withhold from his valour and his excellent generalship*."

After the cessation of these troubles, Paris remained for a long period unacquainted with the miseries either of domestic or foreign war. The descendants of those militant burgesses who, during the stormy times of the League and the Fronde used to be so ready to transform their city into a camp, learned during the protracted reigns of Louis

* Mémoires du Comte de Chavagnac, quoted by Dulaure, *Histoire de Paris*, vi, 349.

XIV. and his successor, to cultivate the arts and the habits of peace, and, if not literally to beat the swords of their ancestors into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, at least to find that life might be supported without the excitement arising from the incessant clashing of those weapons in their streets, or around their walls. The chains with which the streets had been so often barricaded were allowed to rust away; the walls themselves were at last pulled down. This tranquillity was first interrupted by the hurricane of the Revolution; many of the more tumultuous scenes of which, in so far as Paris was their theatre, we have elsewhere described. Yet even this mighty convulsion, which shook the utmost limits not only of France but of Europe, for a long time brought no hostile army to the gates of the French capital. That came only at the winding-up of the great drama which had filled the quarter of a century.

When the first apprehensions of the arrival of the Allies were felt at Paris in the beginning of the year 1814, although some measures were adopted by the authorities with the view both of provisioning the city for a siege, and of rendering it otherwise defensible, the notion of its being able to make any effectual resistance appears to have soon been pretty generally abandoned. The troops which the Emperor had left to protect it were both so inconsiderable in number, and so insufficiently armed, as to give it no chance of being able to hold out long against the united armies by which it was menaced. But, besides this, the inhabitants themselves were in no temper to resist. The burthen of the empire, of late more oppressive than ever in consequence of the heavy exactions of men and money to which Bonaparte's reverses had compelled him to resort, was now universally felt to be intolerable; and many who

in other circumstances would have shrunk from opening the gates to a foreign force, reconciled themselves to the idea even of that humiliation, in their impatience under the domestic tyranny from which it promised to deliver them. Few, except those who felt themselves in some degree called upon to make a stand by considerations of personal honour, thought of any serious opposition now to the overwhelming combination which had already so far turned the fortunes of him who used to carry victory in his right hand. The military portion of the community alone manifested any zeal in regard to the preparations for the defence of the city. The general population evidently felt that the cause was none of theirs, and looked forward to the issue almost with indifference.

Paris however, on this occasion, was not exempted from a considerable share at least of the agitation and alarm which never fail to herald the approaching footsteps of war. We regret that we cannot afford space to lay before the reader a few extracts from the highly interesting narrative which an English writer, who was in the city at the time, has given us of the occurrences that preceded the arrival of the allied forces*. His representations agree in the main with the picture which has been drawn of the state of the town by another foreign resident, who has also published an account of what fell under his observation at this memorable crisis†. Both authorities mention particularly the extraordinary fact, that the inhabitants, notwithstanding the rumours of all sorts which were brought during the two or three previous days by the crowds of country-people who came to seek an asylum within the walls, actually remained in the

* See the *Journal of a Détenu*, 8vo., Lon. 1828.

† *Relation Historique sur la Déchéance de Napoleon*, par M. Rodriguez, 8vo. Paris, 1814,

belief that the enemy were not within many miles of them up to the moment when it was announced that they were within sight of the ramparts. The only fighting which took place, as probably most of our readers recollect, was the severe action of the 30th of March, the day of the capitulation. The scene of this battle, which lasted with little interruption from day-break till half-past three in the afternoon, was the plains immediately behind Montmartre, Belleville, the Butte Chaumont, and the other elevated grounds to the north and north-east of the city. The Allies eventually succeeded in gaining possession of these heights, but not before their loss had amounted to ten thousand in killed alone, their enemies having lost about a third part of that number. Of the French troops none distinguished themselves more on this occasion than the scholars of the Polytechnic School, two hundred and seventy of whom continued during a great part of the day to work a battery of cannon, planted at the entrance of the wood of Vincennes, the point where the battle raged with the greatest fury. The National Guards also on this day, to the number of about twelve thousand men; were partly stationed at the barriers and partly in the field of battle, much of the brunt of which they sustained. As the history of the origin and subsequent exploits of this force is both interesting in itself and intimately connected with many of the most important events of the Revolution, we shall conclude our present volume by a rapid sketch of the principal incidents.

CHAPTER XV.

THE NATIONAL GUARD.

THE National Guard, as is well known, took its rise in the early days of the Revolution of 1789. The deputies to the States-General which were convoked that year, were not chosen directly by the people; but the inhabitants of each bailiwick, having first assembled, selected a certain number of persons from their own body, and these latter nominated the National Representatives. It was intended of course that the several bodies of actual electors, or the electoral colleges, as they might be called, should be considered as divested of all power, and to all intents and purposes dissolved, as soon as they should have exercised the single function, that of nominating the deputies, for which they had been constituted. This act performed, there was nothing else appointed for them to do. And such was the view that was generally taken of their duties by these bodies themselves. In Paris, however, it happened otherwise. The number of electors which the inhabitants of this city were permitted to choose amounted to three hundred, two hundred being the largest number fixed for any other place. The primary assemblies in which these three hundred persons were named, were all held in the sixty arrondissemens or districts of the capital on the same day, the 21st of April*—and the business was finished before night. The election of

* *Histoire de la Garde Nationale*, par Ch. Comte, p. 10, 11. Dulaure says the elections took place on the 20th of April; *Histoire de Paris*, viii. 547.

the deputies, however, was not conducted with quite so much expedition. Of these there were twenty to be voted for; and it was the 19th of May before the list was completed, by which time the States-General had been assembled for above a fortnight. From the events that followed we are warranted in saying that the accomplishment of the Revolution was in all probability due to this long protraction of the labours of the Parisian electors. Had they, like their brethren in other parts of the kingdom, got through the work assigned to them in a single day, or in two or three days, and then discontinued their meetings, they would hardly have ever thought of resuming them. The habit of considering themselves as a constituted board or association, and of deliberating and acting in common, would not have been formed. But after assembling together every day for three weeks, to express their sentiments and give their votes on matters of the deepest interest and moment to them as citizens, it was not to be expected that they should quietly lay down the political importance they had for so considerable a time sustained, and retire into private life, disposed to take no farther share in those great movements which they had begun so materially to influence. Nor did they so act. They did not separate after electing their representatives without entering into a resolution that they should continue to consider their association in existence till the National Assembly should have concluded its labours. Out of this resolution of the Electors of Paris, as we shall see immediately, sprung the National Guard.

For some time, however, they did not actually meet. Nothing occurred which seemed particularly to call for their interference. But towards the end of June, when the contest between the Assembly and the Court had fairly commenced, the Electors of the

capital considered it their duty to come forward in support of the former, and to second with their united strength the efforts making by their representatives to secure the national freedom. On the 25th, accordingly, they met in a room called the *Salle du Musée**, in the Rue Dauphine, and voted an address to the Assembly, declaring in warm terms their accordance in all it had done up to that time. From this day they continued to hold regular sittings. Having demanded and obtained from the civic authorities the use of the great hall of the Hotel de Ville for that purpose, they transferred themselves thither on the 27th, and it became for the future their place of meeting.

By this time the large military force, consisting in great part of foreign regiments, which had been collected in the vicinity of Paris and Versailles, had spread general alarm among the friends of liberty, and been made the subject of strong remonstrances to the King on the part of the National Assembly. Whatever may have been the real intention of the court in surrounding the capital and the seat of the legislature with these armed bands, it cannot be denied that their presence amply justified the Assembly both in the apprehensions they entertained, and the measures to which they had recourse in order to procure the removal of so formidable a check upon the freedom of their deliberations. Their exertions in this matter were powerfully seconded by their new allies at the Hôtel de Ville. So early as the 26th,

* Dulaure, *Exquisses Historiques*, i. 101. This seems to have been the hall in which the society called the *Musée de Paris* had been accustomed some years before to hold their meetings, as mentioned by Dulaure in his *Histoire de Paris*, viii. 450. The Electors of Paris, according to M. Comte, originally met in one of the halls of the Archbishopal Palace, and it was there that they chose the Deputies. See *Histoire de la Garde Nationale*, p. 13.

a motion was made at the meeting of the Electors by M. de Bonneville that an address should be sent to the Assembly, soliciting their concurrence in the making of arrangements for the establishment of a City Guard. This proposition was not entertained at the time; but some days afterwards, when the alarm from the continued arrival of new bodies of military had become stronger and more general, it was renewed with slight differences of form by various members. At last, on the 11th of June, the meeting came to a resolution, in consequence, as it was expressed, of the extraordinary state of excitement and apprehension into which the inhabitants of the capital had been thrown by the presence of the numerous troops assembled in the environs, to call upon the National Assembly through their deputies to take measures for procuring as speedily as possible, for the city of Paris, the establishment of a City Guard.

Events, however, immediately occurred which compelled the electors to take a much more precipitate and energetic course in regard to the matter in question than had been contemplated by them, when they framed this comparatively cautious resolution. The movements of the National Assembly had already probably been somewhat quickened by the promptings and encouragements which the Electors had been able to lend it in their more irresponsible capacity. They were now themselves to receive an impetus from a power still more completely emancipated from the control of rules and forms and the other restraints of a regular organization. The people were up, and had taken their own cause into their own hands. On the 12th, all Paris was in agitation. The news which arrived from Versailles of the dismissal and banishment of Necker—a soldier of the French Guards shot dead by one of the King's German Troopers in the Place Louis XV.—two other citi-

zens wounded by a wanton attack of the military in the garden of the Tuileries—all these things contributed to kindle a flame of popular indignation, in the sweeping fury of which the Revolution was consummated in a few brief hours. It was Sunday, and only a small number of electors had as yet assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, when a tumultuous crowd appeared in front of that building, demanding with loud cries that the tocsin should be instantly sounded, and arms given to them that they might defend themselves against the soldiers, who were cutting down indiscriminately women, children, and old men, with their sabres. Their demand was at first refused; but it was soon found necessary to deliver up to them the few muskets belonging to the town guards. The electors then resolved to repair each to his district to watch as far as possible over the preservation of order. Notwithstanding this precaution, however, the city continued in a state of great agitation. During the night the mob succeeded in overpowering the police authorities, and firing the barriers. At an early hour in the morning of the 18th the tocsin was ringing from every steeple in Paris.

By six o'clock the electors were assembled at the Hôtel de Ville; and immediately their place of meeting was again besieged by an immense multitude clamouring for arms. They were now convinced that, in order to have any chance of directing or controlling the popular movement, it was necessary, instead of any longer attempting to resist it, that they should at once place themselves at its head. They therefore resolved to invite the people forthwith to assemble in their several districts, that they might be immediately enrolled in companies, and have the arms they desired put into their hands. A Permanent Committee was at the same time named from

their own number, to sit at the Hôtel de Ville, and to preside over all the arrangements for the establishment of the new force. But even these energetic measures failed to repress the impatience of a part of the populace. The cry for arms still continuing, M. de Flesselles, the Provost of the Merchants, at last came forward, and announced that he would immediately have it in his power to distribute among them twelve thousand firelocks, and that they should have thirty thousand more in the course of three or four days. These assurances appeased the tumult for the moment; and the Committee of electors instantly set to work to draw up the necessary regulations for the citizen army. The general plan of its organization was sketched with the decision and despatch demanded by the crisis. The sixty districts of the city were arranged into sixteen quarters, each to furnish its own legion. Of the sixteen legions twelve, it was settled, should have four, and the remainder three battalions each. The officers were appointed to be a Commander-in-chief, a General second in command, a Major-general, and an Adjutant-general—all to be named by the Committee, who should also have the nomination of the Staff of each legion;—only the Captains and subordinate officers of companies being chosen by the districts. The full complement of the force, it was decreed, should be forty-eight thousand citizens, to be raised, according to certain prescribed proportions, by the sixty districts. Finally, to omit several minor arrangements, it was ordered that the blue and red flag of the city should also be that of the new guard, and that every man should wear a cockade of these colours—that the head-quarters should be at the Hôtel de Ville—and that the commander-in-chief and the officers of his staff should have places in the permanent committee of the electors. The proposed City Guard, under these regulations, was mani-

festly intended to be to all intents and purposes the army of this Committee. Nobody, however, objected to the powers thus assumed by what may be almost called a self-constituted association. On the contrary the districts, as soon as the scheme was published, unanimously voted its acceptance. The clerks of the Palace, those of the Châtelet, and the students of surgery, offered their services to form an auxiliary guard, and prayed the committee to issue the necessary directions for their observance. The Commandant of the city-watch came forward to announce the wish of himself and his men to take their orders in future from the same authority. The regiments of French Guards sent to intimate their desire of uniting themselves to the ranks of their fellow-citizens. The enthusiasm was boundless and universal; and in a few hours Paris was in possession of a numerous militia, which had sprung up from the midst of her population almost like men starting forth from ambush at some expected signal.

But although the men were enrolled in regiments and companies, they were yet without arms. The populace, knowing this, continued to besiege the Hôtel de Ville with the same demand which they had been vociferating since the morning. While matters were in this state, some persons came running up to announce that they had stopt a boat on the river, which had just been loaded at the Arsenal for Rouen, and that they had found in it five thousand pounds of powder and a quantity of other ammunition. The Permanent Committee immediately ordered that these stores should be deposited in the cellars of the Hôtel de Ville till they should be regularly distributed. Meanwhile the twelve thousand stand of arms promised by M. de Flesselles were expected every moment with more and more impatience. But for a long time nothing indicated that they were

forthcoming. At last several chests, marked with the word *Artillery*, were announced as having arrived; and, no doubt being entertained by any one that they contained the arms which had been so anxiously waited for, persons were immediately appointed by the Committee to open them, that the distribution might be no longer delayed. But what was the astonishment and indignation of the bystanders when they were found to be filled with nothing but rubbish! A cry of treason was at once raised; and the rage of the people was directed both against the Provost of the Merchants and the Permanent Committee. The latter found it necessary, in order to satisfy the clamour of which they were the objects, immediately to give orders for the fabrication of fifty thousand halberts; these were furnished in less than a day and a half.

The night was again one of alarm and tumult; and by daybreak on the 14th the streets were filled with multitudes of people, many of whom were armed, moving about in all directions in a state of the greatest excitement. The events of that memorable day will be found elsewhere detailed. Arms continuing to be clamorously demanded from the Committee, that body resolved to send an order to the Invalides that such as might be found there should be delivered up and transferred to the Hôtel de Ville. The immense and resolute multitude who accompanied the person charged with this message did not allow much time to be spent in the consideration of it. In a few moments they broke by force into the building, and plundered the armoury of thirty thousand muskets. Soon after this the attack upon the Bastille was made, which ended in the capture and subsequent destruction of that famous fortress. Here was obtained a large additional quantity of arms and other military stores.

This last movement had not been taken by the people at the command or instigation of the Permanent Committee; but the latter, after it had fairly commenced, found it necessary, in order to preserve their ascendancy, to sanction it with their authority, and to send such troops as they already had under their control to take part in the attack. It was the arrival of the French guards and of a portion of the newly raised city militia which at last secured the success of the assailants. Besides confirming their own power, the Committee, by this politic and, indeed, unavoidable interference, enabled themselves to exert an influence over the populace, which undoubtedly prevented many excesses. One act of revenge, however, took place—the seizure and murder of the Provost of the Merchants, by whose repeated promises of arms, which had uniformly turned out delusive, the people believed that they had been both betrayed and insulted.

Meanwhile, during this and the preceding days, the National Assembly at Versailles had been actively following up the suggestion of the Committee of Electors, and endeavouring to obtain the consent of the King to the establishment of the desired City Guard. The demand of the Committee had been read for the first time in the Assembly on the 12th, on which a deputation was immediately sent to his Majesty to represent to him the necessity of yielding to the popular wish. This first application was attended with no success. The King, although professing to approve the motives by which it had been dictated, refused either to issue his mandate for the enrolment of the citizens, or to withdraw the regular troops from the capital. The Assembly, however, persisted in their efforts; but failed for some time in moving the resolution of his Majesty. At last, on the 14th, a deputation arrived from the Committee

of Electors, which had left Paris while the attack on the Bastile was yet going on and its issue doubtful, and the object of which was to inform the Assembly of the extraordinary state of agitation in which the city was. On receiving this communication the Assembly instantly resolved once more to renew their remonstrances against the course pursued by the King; and a numerous deputation, accordingly, with the president at its head, set out to seek the royal presence. His Majesty, now informed of the true state of affairs, at last submitted to the pressure of the emergency. He stated to the deputation that he had already done what they came to require of him, having, as soon as he learned the measures that had begun to be taken at Paris for arming the citizens, given orders that certain general officers should place themselves at the head of the new militia, and give their best assistance in its organization. He added, that he had also commanded the removal of the troops which had excited the apprehension of the inhabitants.

These orders of the King, directed as they were asserted to have been to the Provost of the Merchants, appear never to have reached the Hôtel de Ville. By this time, indeed, the revolt had proceeded too far for any such concessions to influence its character or result. The Committee of Electors, however, still continued to profess their disposition to respect the royal authority. At a later hour of the same day they sent another message to Versailles, again soliciting the interference of the Assembly to obtain from his Majesty a ratification of their proceedings in arming the people.

But the capture of the Bastile rendered the popular cause completely triumphant, and made all parties feel the necessity of deporting themselves towards it as such. On the following day a numerous

deputation from the Assembly, headed by Lafayette, came to convey the congratulations of the legislature to the Committee of Electors on the brilliant success which had crowned their exertions in the cause of the national liberties, and at the same time to announce to them the King's confirmation of the establishment of their city guard, and the orders he had given for the removal of the troops from Paris and Versailles. It was at the close of this interview, and at the moment when the whole meeting, on the proposal of the Archbishop of Paris, who had come in the deputation from the Assembly, was preparing to leave the Hôtel de Ville for the church of Notre Dame, there to render thanks to heaven by a solemn *Te Deum* for the issue of the recent events, that one of the electors proposed the appointment of Lafayette as Commander in Chief of the new guard. The mention of that name, already renowned in the wars of freedom, was hailed by the united acclamations of all present; and having been unanimously elected to his distinguished office on the spot, M. de Lafayette immediately drew forth his sword and swore to devote his life to the liberties of his country. In the same moment of enthusiasm his friend Bailly was named Mayor of Paris, that more comprehensive title being substituted for that of Provost of the Merchants, which had hitherto been borne by the chief magistrate of the city.

"There is not to be found in history," says M. Comte, in concluding his narrative of these extraordinary events, "any revolution so remarkable and so fertile in consequences as that which we have just been reviewing. A population of six or seven hundred thousand individuals, strangers to all the habits of liberty, and who have never known any other authority than that of the police, of the military, or of the courts of justice, is divided by ordonnance into

sixty parts. It is commanded to name a certain number of persons, who shall themselves elect twenty deputies, and give them such instructions as they shall believe favorable for the public interests. These orders are executed; but the Assembly of Electors, without any other design than that of continuing their instructions to their deputies, continue to meet. Things being in this state, it is suddenly announced that the public safety is menaced by some hundreds of brigands who have been introduced into Paris, and that the government wishes to retrace the steps it has taken. In an instant, this assembly of citizens which has had no other mission except to elect a certain number of deputies, finds itself invested with the sovereign authority, without reflecting whether it is assuming a legitimate power, or committing an usurpation; all the old authorities are annihilated, without its occurring to them to defend themselves; the lieutenant of police abdicates his functions, the spies hide themselves, the intendant disappears, the courts of justice are forgotten, the ministers keep silence, the armed force appointed to guard the city rallies around the new power.

“The royal authority, no longer felt in the interior of the city, still appears full of life at the distance of a few leagues; it has at its command numerous armies, which are the more to be dreaded, inasmuch as the soldiers are for the most part foreigners. It makes these armies advance upon the capital, supported by a formidable artillery; and already they behold on every side a multitude unprovided with arms, and entirely unacquainted with military manœuvres. Immediately, this assembly of merchants, literary men, advocates, and physicians, transforms itself into an assembly of legislators; it organizes an army, even before being possessed of arms; it

establishes, under the name of a Permanent Committee, an executive power; it commands all the citizens to assemble in their districts; and a city, where the royal power was almost without limits, finds itself thus transformed into a great republic, without any person having intended to aim a blow at royalty.

“At the same time that the population is organising itself as if by instinct, the presence of the danger excites the citizens to procure for themselves arms and ammunition. Obscure individuals, simple working-men, old soldiers holding no rank, and to whom all governments must have appeared equal, give themselves to the care of the public interest with as much zeal as the most enlightened citizens. They discover barrels of powder and of saltpetre, and bring them to the persons who constitute the new government, and who appear not to doubt that they are the government. Others go forth to wrest artillery from the hands of veteran soldiers; they discover a vast magazine of arms, and distribute among themselves thirty thousand muskets, without any other design than that of employing them in the defence of the public liberties. Others, again, occupy themselves in the making of pikes, and in the space of a day and a half they have fabricated fifty thousand. It is reported by a few individuals, that the soldiers are advancing into the suburbs, and are there committing outrages upon the inhabitants; instantly, the streets are unpaved, ditches are dug, barricades are reared, and not a human being talks of submission; Paris will be free, or will bury itself in its own ruins.

“There stands in the heart of the city a fortress, which appears to be impregnable, which threatens one of the most populous quarters of the town, and which is occupied by a garrison suspected of hostile in-

tentions. A demand is made that it should be delivered up, and placed under the control of the citizens ; the governor refuses compliance, and whilst the magistrates are negotiating with him to obtain his assent, the impatient crowd rush with fury upon the building, expose themselves to the fire of musketry and cannon, carry the place by assault, and establish themselves in possession of it.

“ In the midst of all this agitation the people pass alternately from one extreme to the other ; they cry out for revenge, or demand the pardon of those who have fallen into their hands ; they strike their enemies, or risk their own lives to preserve them ; they raise the cry of treason, or give themselves up to a blind confidence ; while all the passions are unchained, cupidity alone dare not shew itself ; the poor man, who has only his defenceless arm wherewith to combat the enemies of his freedom, would think himself disgraced if it could be supposed that he had done anything for money *.”

We can only afford to trace very rapidly the subsequent history of the force of which such was the extraordinary origin. At the sitting of the Permanent Committee on the 16th, M. de Lafayette proposed that the institution of the citizen army should be extended over the whole kingdom, and that it should receive the name of the NATIONAL GUARD. He also stated the necessity there was that it should be subjected immediately to a regular organization and discipline ; and for that purpose he suggested that the requisite measures should be taken by himself, in concert with deputies from the several districts of the capital. A decree in conformity to these propositions was passed by the Committee. Next day, the King, on his compulsory visit to the Hôtel de Ville, appeared at one of the windows of that

* Histoire de la Garde Nationale, p. 74.

building wearing the new national cockade, and intimated to Lafayette that he confirmed his appointment as commander-in-chief. Neither the royal approbation, however, nor his previous nomination by the Permanent Committee, satisfied the general. He demanded that the matter should be submitted to the votes of the people. On this, the electors, as if recollecting for the first time that they had themselves for a considerable space been exercising important functions without any commission whatever, resolved that they also would appeal to the people for a confirmation of their authority. The inhabitants of the different districts of the capital were, therefore, ordered to assemble, for the purpose of taking these several affairs into consideration. Before these meetings could be held, however, the murders of Berthier, the intendant of police, and of his son-in-law Foulon, who had just been appointed minister of war, on the deplorable day of the 22d, stained the cause of the Revolution, and proved that notwithstanding the measures that had been taken for the re-establishment of order, the passions of a savage rabble still formed the dominant power in the state. The exertions of Lafayette to prevent the excesses of this day were almost superhuman ; but all his intrepidity and eloquence proved ineffectual to restrain the blood-thirsty multitude, or to rescue their doomed victims. On the morrow, therefore, he addressed a letter to the mayor, copies of which he forwarded at the same time to the different districts, intimating his determination to resign a command which he found he could not retain either with honour to himself or advantage to his country. But the universal grief and dismay with which the announcement of this resolution was received, produced an expression of the public sentiment in favour of his continuing in his high office, which it was impossible for him to resist.

On hearing his communication read, the Assembly of Electors instantly rose, and, proceeding in a body to the place where he was, addressed him, and stated it as their unanimous opinion that the safety of the capital depended upon his retaining his command. The districts hastened to supplicate him to recall his resignation in terms equally earnest. The result was that the National Guard retained its popular chief, now placed once more at its head by the unanimous suffrages of his fellow-citizens.

The example of Paris was imitated with enthusiasm over the greater part of France; and in a few days most of the Communes throughout the kingdom were busy organizing their branches of the great national force. All these subordinate associations continued to look to the capital, from which they had thus derived their origin, for the forms of their future procedure and the rules by which they were to govern themselves. The regulations promulgated in Paris were implicitly accepted and obeyed in the provinces.

Meanwhile the Committee charged with the task of completing the organization of the new force, lost no time in proceeding with their labours; and they soon produced a scheme which was afterwards approved by the districts, and by which the constitution of the guard was subjected to several modifications. Among other things, the white, the ancient colour of the reigning house, was added to the red and blue of the cockade; and hence the famous tricolor, for so many years afterwards successively the distinguishing badge of the Republic and the Empire, and now once more, as at first, the ensign of liberty and order under a Constitutional King.

But the organization of the National Guard was only completed by the law passed by the Constituent Assembly on the 29th of September 1791, the day

before that on which it closed its session. By this law all *active* citizens, that is, all the inhabitants of the kingdom entitled to exercise any political rights, were ordered to enrol their names in the registers of the new force. All, without any exception, who should fail to obey this call, were declared suspended from their rights of citizenship. The sons of active citizens were also declared bound to register themselves on reaching their eighteenth year; it being only on condition of their having done so that they were to be admitted, three years afterwards, to rank as citizens. Foreigners resident in France were subjected to these obligations equally with the native subjects of the kingdom. But although all the male inhabitants of the country, from the age of eighteen upwards, enjoying civil privileges, were thus compelled to inscribe their names in the registers of the national militia, certain classes of persons were, by a subsequent enactment, exempted from actual service. The members of the legislature, the King's ministers, the judges of the different tribunals, bishops and all others in holy orders, soldiers and officers of the line and of the navy, were all held to be in the exercise of functions with which those of the National Guard were incompatible. Invalids also, and individuals above sixty years of age, were not to be called upon to serve. These are the principal articles of the first section of the law, or that of which the object was to regulate the composition of the lists from which the citizen army was to be drawn. The second section laid down the rules for the formation of the different district divisions of the force. The election of the officers was vested, by this new law, in the members of the Guard themselves; and they were to be appointed only for a year. Other articles prescribed the uniform to be worn throughout the service—a blue coat, with a vest and breeches of

white—and declared that the flag should be the tricolor. The third section was occupied with the detail of the functions to be exercised by the citizens serving in the National Guards; which, in general terms, were asserted to be to re-establish order, and to maintain obedience to the laws, conformably to the decrees of the authorities. The armed citizens were enjoined in no case to permit themselves to consider the propriety of the orders given to them, but to execute them without deliberation. Upon this important point the language of the law was very decided. In another article it was declared that all deliberation entered into by the National Guards respecting the affairs of the state, of the department, of the district, of the commune, or even of the Guard itself, with the exception of matters expressly referred to the Council of Discipline, to be afterwards established, should be held as an attack upon the public liberty, and a crime against the constitution, the responsibility of which should lie with those who had convoked or presided at the meeting in which such deliberation had taken place. As, however, the formidable body thus forbidden to interfere with the affairs of the state in their military capacity, had the power of assembling for political discussion whenever they chose in their other capacity of citizens, it is plain that this prohibition, anxiously enforced as it was, was not likely in any considerable degree to answer the purpose for which it was doubtless intended.

The fourth section of the law of 1791 regulated the order in which the different companies and battalions were to be called out to serve, and the rank they were respectively to be considered as holding. The subject of the fifth and last was the discipline to which the members were to be subjected. Here it was provided that, in regard to the punishments inflicted, no distinction should be made between

officers and privates. The punishments specified were merely arrest, imprisonment (in no case for more than seven days), and suspension from the exercise of the rights of citizenship. By an article of this section, also, it was ordered that a council, consisting of the general, certain of the other officers, and four privates, should be formed in each battalion, for the purpose of considering and determining all matters connected with interior discipline, but no others. This council, the only meeting in which the members of the National Guard could deliberate as such, was to be convened at the pleasure of the general, who was also to sit in it as president.

By this constitution the working classes were almost entirely excluded from the National Guard. During the commotions in Paris in the middle of July 1789, before and for some days after the taking of the Bastille, a large proportion of the persons who were most active in the insurrection consisted of the very lowest of the populace. Of the muskets and other weapons seized at the Hôtel des Invalides, or precipitately distributed by the authorities at the town-house, many had fallen into the hands of persons of this description; and after the disturbances were over, the knowledge of this fact became a source of considerable apprehension to the more respectable classes of the citizens. An address was therefore issued by the assembly of Electors, while the formation of the new civic guard was in progress, inviting those workmen who had been engaged in the recent tumults to return to their customary occupations, and promising payment to them for the time they had lost in the public service, on condition of their delivering up the arms of which they might be in possession to their several districts. This device sufficiently answered its purpose; and the mere rabble

were pretty completely deprived in the mean time of the warlike instruments of which they might have made so dangerous a use. The subsequent acts of the legislature, and especially the law of which we have just given an account for the organization of the National Guard, confirmed this exclusion of the great mass of the working population from all political power, by making the enjoyment of the rights of what was called *active* citizenship depend upon the performance of such duties as were quite impossible to persons in that condition. As this civic militia was originally constituted, it was only those to whom the sacrifice of a considerable portion of their time was not the sacrifice of their actual subsistence, who could afford to enrol themselves in its ranks. All who failed to do so, however, were deprived, as we have seen, of the power of exercising any other political function, so that the enactment constituted a most material feature, not only in the constitution of the National Guard, but in the general constitution of the state.

In the progress of the Revolution the National Guard, like the community in general, of which indeed they formed the most influential portion, became gradually more and more anti-monarchical and republican. On the 10th of August 1792, the different battalions which had been drawn up to defend the palace nearly all joined the *Fédérés* and the populace in their attack upon it, thus sufficiently shewing what their inclinations had now become. Immediately after this memorable day, however, the force received a new organization which destroyed the fundamental principle of its original constitution. On the demand of the cabal who had usurped the powers of the municipality, a large addition was made to its ranks from the working people and the other most necessitous, ignorant,

and dependant classes of the population; and as persons of this description, of course, could not afford to give their time to the public service for nothing, it was ordered that they should receive pay. The distinction made by the Constituent Assembly between active and inactive citizens was at the same time abolished; and the establishment of universal suffrage secured the supremacy in the state to the mob or their leaders. The National Guard, thus changed in constitution and character, was deprived even of its original name. The new civic army, in which Santerre held the place once filled by Lafayette, was called the Armed Sections. But the effect of these arrangements was really to dissolve the National Guard; and indeed this was the aim of their authors. The original members of the force were quickly driven out of it, not only by the means resorted to in order to disgust them with the service, but by still stronger measures on the part of the tyrannical Commune which now governed France. A few days before the September massacre great numbers of them were deprived of their arms by parties sent to their houses for that purpose, and they themselves dragged to the prisons, there to await assassination. After this the Armed Sections consisted almost wholly of persons from the lowest ranks of the population, serving for pay, and devoted like any other hired soldiery to the masters who employed and maintained them.

Thus matters remained till the overthrow of Robespierre in July 1794. One of the first measures of the Convention, after this victory, was the reorganization of the National Guard; and it was quickly established once more on its original footing, the mere working classes being excluded from its ranks, and only those persons permitted to serve who could afford to do so without pay. On the promulgation

of the Constitution of the year III. (in June 1795) the maintenance of the civic militia was proposed as one of its fundamental articles. But the conduct of a large proportion of the armed citizens in joining the series of unsuccessful revolts against the Convention, which terminated on the decisive day of the 13th Vendémiaire, naturally contributed in a considerable degree to alienate the favour of the government from that description of force, and to dispose it rather to look for support to those regular troops to which, on the occasions in question, it had been chiefly indebted for its preservation from destruction. The National Guard, however, continued to be maintained in existence under the Directory, and a law was even passed (on the 25th Thermidor, an 5) for giving it a new organization. But in regard to its original duty of protecting the government and institutions of the country, it was now almost entirely supplanted by regiments of the line. In this condition it remained till the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire (9th Nov. 1799), which destroyed every thing of the Republic except the name, and placed Bonaparte at the head of the state. This catastrophe swallowed up the National Guard, along with all the other institutions of freedom in France. By the existing law it was provided that a new selection of all the officers of the force should take place every year; but when the usual period came round, the First Consul issued his commands to the authorities throughout the country not to call the citizens together; and their military organization thus fell to pieces of itself, without putting him who wished to destroy it to the trouble of even ordering its destruction.

In 1806, however, the National Guard was once more called into existence by the imperial edict. All that was democratic in the original constitution of the

force was now of course abolished. Every thing was regulated by the will of the Emperor. The officers, no longer citizens raised to their temporary rank by the free suffrages of their comrades, were his generals and captains, whom he appointed to their posts in this pretended array of citizens, just as he did in his regular armies. The National Guard, indeed, under Bonaparte, became merely a part of the ordinary military force of the country, and was even employed by its master at last in foreign service as freely as his other legions. In 1814, however, when the advance of the Allies began to occasion alarm for the safety of Paris, the inhabitants were once more armed and embodied expressly for the protection of the city. These newly raised battalions distinguished themselves in a manner worthy of the name they bore in the action of the 30th of March, beyond and on the heights of Montmartre, although deserted by their principal officers before the arrival of the enemy. After this event the same troops rendered the most valuable services by their exertions in the preservation of order amidst the extraordinary circumstances in which the capital was placed. Divided in political opinion as they doubtless were among themselves, they seem to have temperately and wisely felt that for the present at least the maintenance of the general security and the authority of the laws was the part becoming them, and that by which they would best evince their patriotism. When it was intimated to them, therefore, that it would be agreeable to the restored family if they would, of their own accord, abandon their ancient cockade, they declined giving that proof of subserviency; but when the government issued an express order that the white ribbon should displace the tri-color, it was immediately obeyed.

The unforgotten origin of the National Guard,

however, was not calculated to win it much favor in the eyes of the Bourbons ; and it was not long before many slights on the part of the court discovered distinctly enough the feeling that was entertained with regard to it. Yet when, in the course of a few months, the dethroned emperor was announced to be once more at the head of his legions, and marching unopposed upon the capital, the armed citizens were found in fact the only force to which the government in its perplexity and terror felt that it could appeal for support, with the least chance of success. The Guard accordingly was again precipitately called out both in Paris and in the provinces. But this attempt, the resource of mere helplessness and despair, was of no avail. On the 17th of March the different battalions of the Parisian force were reviewed by the Count d'Artois, when those members of each who were inclined to stand by the King were requested to step forward from the ranks. A very small number of individuals, indeed, answered this invitation ; and on the 19th the Bourbons again took flight from Paris.

The National Guard, however, was not fated to be very gratefully requited by Bonaparte for any attachment which it might have shewn to his interests in this instance. Soon after his arrival he gave it, indeed, a new organization, but hardly in any respect of a more popular character than what it had formerly enjoyed under his authority. One honour which he bestowed upon it, as if to compensate for all other deprivations, was the appointment of himself as its commander-in-chief.

Another invasion quickly swept away this reconstruction of the empire, and brought back to France the family she had already twice cast out, along with an army of foreigners, to support them on their throne. What enthusiasm in favour of this doomed

line had formerly existed among the National Guard was now almost entirely gone. When Louis again appeared at the barriers, none of them went forth to meet him. With a much sterner spirit, too, than on the former occasion they published a formal declaration of their sentiments on the subject of the tricolor, which they had by this time resumed, protesting that they would consider their honour involved in its preservation. In consequence of this announcement the government again issued an order commanding the abandonment of the obnoxious emblem. Hence new heartburnings, which never were allayed. The Guard, however, did not for this exert themselves now with less zeal or effect than they had done on the first entry of the Allies, in preserving the peace of the city and performing all the other duties of a police. For their admirable conduct in this capacity they were thanked in very warm terms by General Muffin, who had been appointed temporary governor of Paris by the allied sovereigns. At this period, according to M. Comte, the numbers of the force amounted only to 85,400 individuals, of whom 8,724 were without uniform.

For several years from this period the National Guard took no part in any political movement; and subjected as it was to the authority of the government by the laws which maintained it in existence, it might be said to have lost altogether whatever it had at any time possessed of the character of a political association. The court, however, continued to regard it with dislike and suspicion, which it was at no pains to conceal. Only a few months after the King's return many of the officers, of all ranks, had been dismissed on the ground of the dangerous opinions they were asserted to hold; but the general spirit which prevailed throughout the force was probably

not much improved by this process of purification. Besides this, the whole treatment to which it was subjected was such as could not fail to produce a diffused feeling of disgust and alienation. It was not, however, till 1827 that it was actually dissolved. On Sunday the 29th of April that year, the National Guards of Paris were drawn up in the Champ de Mars to be reviewed by the King, Charles X. At this period the unpopularity of the ministry (that of Villèle) was extreme both in the capital and throughout France. As the King proceeded along the ranks of the different regiments, some of the men ventured to salute the royal ear with cries of *Down with the ministry*, and other such exclamations expressive of the general sentiment of the day. Several individuals who distinguished themselves by this conduct were ordered by his Majesty himself to be brought out from the ranks; but in every instance the marked men escaped among their companions, whom sympathy with the feelings which had prompted their indiscretion, it is probable, rendered not unwilling to aid in sheltering them from punishment. With the exception of these breaches of military etiquette, the occasion passed off without anything unpleasant having occurred. Charles himself is said to have remarked, when the review was over, that it might have been in some respects a more gratifying exhibition, but that upon the whole he was satisfied. However, on the evening of the same day a royal ordinance was prepared and signed declaring that the National Guard was disbanded. This edict appeared in the *Moniteur* of the following morning; and in the course of a few hours the members of the suppressed civic militia which were stationed at the different posts of the Tuileries and elsewhere were displaced by parties of the gendarmerie and troops of the line.

The National Guard was seen no more in Paris or in France, till it suddenly started up again to take its share in the fight of liberty in the great events of July 1830. Its re-organization on this occasion will be more fitly narrated in a future part of our work.

END OF VOL. I.

**PARIS,
AND ITS HISTORICAL SCENES, VOL. II.**

COMPRISING

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830,

With Twelve Engravings on Steel, and numerous Vignettes,

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